

THE STANDARD

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THE STANDARD advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term, Land.

We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry.

We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to either utilize them by the employment of labor, or abandon them to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work for all men, and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away.

HENRY GEORGE IN WALES.

SWANSEA, Wales, March 30.—Since I have been in London this time I have had the pleasure of meeting Professor Thorold Rogers on several occasions. He is now in London, working several hours each day in the British museum, going through some files of eighteenth century papers, which are not to be found in the Oxford libraries, with a view to collecting facts for a book on which he is engaged and which will be substantially a social history of the eighteenth century. I found him, as one might imagine from his books, a most "full" man, with a fund of wit and humor and anecdote that keeps his company in a constant roar.

One of the interesting things Professor Rogers told me corroborative of those trenchant facts he has brought out in his "History of Prices," his "Six Centuries of Work and Wages" and his "Economic Interpretation of History," is that a calculation he has recently made shows that the wages of a common laborer in the days of Henry VII would be equivalent in the money of our day to £145 *per annum*. Another fact of which I was previously unaware, but which is of great value to us single tax men, is that the location of textile industries in the north of England, instead of the south, is due to the fact that factories and machinery were during the seventeenth century subjected to local taxation in the south of England, but in the north were exempt.

As showing the enormous wealth in England at the present day, he tells me that the best estimate he can get of the British capital invested in other countries puts it at £2,500,000,000, or, in round numbers, \$12,500,000,000. And his estimate of the return on this is 4½ *per cent*. This seems almost incredible, but the sums must be enormous.

Professor Rogers testified on Friday last before the County council committee on the assessment of land values, and his testimony was to the effect that, instead of being impossible, as the landlords and land agents of London try to make it appear, a fair assessment of the land values of the metropolis would be an easy matter. As to this he spoke, not from theory merely, but from practical experience, he having made at one time an assessment for the town of Oxford which was generally recognized as accurate and fair.

As illustrative of the effects of protective tariffs, Professor Rogers told me that an English firm who had taken advantage of the French protective tariff on wool to go over to France with English workmen

and establish wool-combing works were drawing a clear million a year to England from the additional prices which the French protective tariff put upon the French consumers of wool. He also told me of another English firm who were in a similar way making enormous profits out of Russian protective tariffs.

As Professor Rogers's works show, he has done more than any other man of the present generation to dig out from musty records of the past the facts which show that the pauperism and poverty which exist among the masses of England at the present day are due solely to the appropriation of land. But the strange thing is he has done all this without seeing the full meaning of his own work, or recognizing the simple remedy which would bring about again a fair distribution of wealth. Yet this is evidently not from any love of the land-owning class of England, for his talk is full of the most biting references to them. Of all the thieves in the world, Professor Rogers says the land-owners of England are the worst and most unscrupulous.

I began my week in South Wales by speaking on Tuesday night in Cardiff under the auspices of the junior liberal association.

As STANDARD readers may not fully understand what liberal associations and junior liberal associations mean in English politics, it may be well to explain the form of political organization (known as the Birmingham plan) which is now generally adopted throughout this country. It may, moreover, afford some useful hints to our single tax men.

The primary association is the liberal association. This is a society formed of as many of the liberals of a town or district as can be induced to join and pay a shilling or two in the way of annual dues. It has its presidents, vice-presidents, honorary secretaries, generally a paid secretary or two, keeps an office open, and forms an organization for distributing literature, holding meetings, seeing to registration, and generally promoting the liberal cause. In each ward, or local district, members of the liberal association form ward committees, and endeavor to get into these branches all the liberal voters of the ward. There are no dues connected with the ward committees, but a subscription is from time to time made to defray necessary expenses. Each ward committee elects its proportion of delegates to a large general committee, usually called the liberal five hundred, though it may be a liberal three hundred, four hundred, one thousand or two thousand. This liberal five hundred, or whatever it may be, forms the political committee of the Liberal association and the managing political committee of the party in the district.

At the same time it is chosen, there is also chosen a smaller committee, which acts as a general executive committee. Besides the Liberal association proper, a junior liberal association is often formed, the first association then becoming, in common parlance, the senior association. This junior association is usually formed whenever the more active spirits think the association is somewhat too old-foggyish, or desire to engage in work which the majority are not quite ready for. It is composed for the most part of members of the senior association,

but it frequently admits young men who are not voters, and exacts no qualifications for membership except adherence to party principles, or a certain age, which is sometimes put at eighteen, or sometimes even sixteen, and the payment of small annual dues. This junior association is a more flexible, more active and, in most cases, more radical body than the main association. It holds meetings and carries on work on its own account, but generally with the concurrence and support of the senior association, by whom it is recognized as a part of the party organization, and as entitled to a voice and representation. In addition to these organizations, it is also usual now to form a woman's liberal association, which is to the liberal forces what the Primrose Dames are to the Tory forces.

The ward committees select their own ward candidates, and where a matter requiring joint action comes up it is settled by conference between them. When a parliamentary candidate has to be selected, the executive committee, or a sub-committee, appointed from the five hundred, proceed to look out for a man. This is generally done as long as possible before an election, so that the candidate may become known to the people of the district and his qualifications be discussed before the election comes off. The fact that the members of parliament are not paid very greatly restricts the number of candidates, and instead of the selection being a choice between a number of rival claimants, as with us, the committee generally really goes in search of a candidate. If no one is suggested by his friends or by influential members of the party, the committee generally takes the list of defeated liberal candidates at the last election and goes through that with a view to deciding who would be likely to suit the voters of their district. The matter is thus talked over for awhile until one or more promising candidates are suggested or suggest themselves. These men are written to, and if they are inclined to consider the matter are invited to talk it over with the members of the sub-committee. When the sub-committee make up their minds they report to the five hundred, and the candidate is asked to come down and meet that body. If he suits the five hundred, a mass meeting of the whole party is called at which the candidate presents himself, and after making a speech and replying to questions which may be put to him, the question is put to the meeting and decided by a show of hands whether he shall be accepted as their candidate or not.

The conservative machinery through the country is about the same as that of the liberals, but, from the spirit of the party, is in its working less democratic. In London, however, the place of the ward committees is very largely taken by the various clubs which are formed in different parts of the metropolis and which generally have a social as well as a political side.

My first greeting on nearing Cardiff was the face of a familiar friend, I bought an Evening Echo, and found in it as illustrating the principles I was to lecture upon that night, a reproduction of the cartoon entitled "An Object Lesson in Political Economy," drawn by J. W. Bengough, and first published in the Toronto Grip, and then reproduced in THE STANDARD and afterward in the Demo-

crat. This of itself was a strong evidence of the progress that had been made in public opinion since I was in Cardiff five years ago. That I was invited there by the junior liberal association was evidence of the same sort, for while this junior liberal association is the more radical of the two associations, it is yet an integral part of the political machinery of the party, and has for its president Sir E. J. Reed, the sitting member for the constituency; for honorary vice-president F. Sonley Johnstone, editor of the South Wales Daily News, and its list of vice-presidents is headed by the Right Honorable Lord Aberdare. Mr. Sonley Johnstone, a man of great influence in this part of the country, I had known of old as a thorough friend of our cause, and I was very glad to meet him again. As evidence of the way in which public opinion has been advancing since I was in Cardiff before, he told me that whereas it was difficult then to get a man of prominence to take the chair, this time they could have had a hundred.

The meeting in the evening was held in the Colonial hall, and was a very good one, although, as at my London meetings, a price was charged for admission to pay expenses. It was presided over by Dr. A. C. E. Parr, vice-chairman of the junior liberal association; and there were present, both on the platform and in the audience, a large number of prominent members of both associations. What I had to say met with a sympathetic and enthusiastic reception, and I was afterward kept busy for an hour or so answering the questions, which came freely from the audience. Then Mr. Sonley Johnstone, in a terse but strong speech, moved this resolution:

This meeting, recognizing the many gross and far-reaching evils which our present iniquitous system of land laws entails, calls on all sections of the people to unite in demanding their abolition, and declares that no reform can be considered satisfactory which does not both secure to the tenant the property he has invested in his holding, and at the same time provide for the imposition of a direct tax on the value of all lands.

This was seconded by Mr. Edward Thomas (Cochfart). "Cochfart," Welsh for "red beard," is Mr. Thomas's "Bardic name," which he uses and by which he is known in writing Welsh poetry, particularly at the Fisteddfod, the annual Welsh gathering at which prizes are awarded for poetry and song. Mr. Thomas warmly supported Mr. Johnstone's resolution, and said that the junior liberal association of Cardiff was endeavoring to educate its members in political economy. They had at first begun with the old writers, but were now studying "Progress and Poverty," and the result had been to bring them into complete accord with the principles represented by me. The resolution was carried amid acclamation, by what looked from the platform like a unanimous show of hands.

There is no want in Cardiff of object lessons in political economy. The town is mainly built upon land belonging to the marquess of Bute, and its growth from 3,000 inhabitants, in the beginning of this century, to a town of 130,000, has brought to that peer enormous revenues. His castle, with its big new tower, emblazoned with his various escutcheons, its pleasant grounds stretching down to the Taff, and shut out from the town by a high wall, with its magnificent chapel, trellised

vines, brass monkeys, and other embellishments, is to the other buildings of Cardiff like an elephant among field mice. But it is only one out of some seven or eight residences of the marquess.

The marquess of Bute is a convert to Catholicism. He is a good deal easier on Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, etc., than some of the other landlords who belong to the Church by law established. In one part of Cardiff, where over a thousand houses have been erected during the last three years, not an inch of ground can be had for love or money for a dissenting chapel. No wonder the established church and its tithes are becoming unpopular in Wales.

Newport, where I went from Cardiff, lies over the border, in the English shire of Monmouth, a part of England that is essentially Welsh.

Newport is a good sample of a leasehold town. In the early part of the present century it was a village of about a thousand inhabitants, and consisted mainly of a long straggling street running from the bridge over the Usk to the old church on the hill—a church that stood there long before the Reformation, and that still bears in the niche in its front wall a headless saint, decapitated, so the local tradition goes, by Cromwell's men. To-day Newport is a busy town of 50,000 inhabitants and is a great port for the exportation of coal.

The land over which Newport has mainly grown, and all about the town, is owned by Lord Tredegar, who has become enormously wealthy by the rise of Newport and the royalties which the development of coal mining have put into his pocket. The present Lord Tredegar is the second of the name, the first lord being Sir Charles Morgan, who was created Lord Tredegar in 1850. How the Morgan family got hold of the land I have found no one hereabouts able to tell me, but it has been in their possession for some time, and as the estates are entailed it has been impossible for any industrial enterprise to obtain anything more than a lease for a term of years. This has prevented the establishment at Newport of industries that otherwise would have come here. Most of the building in Newport has been done under leasehold, but not all the leases are held directly of Lord Tredegar. The first Lord Tredegar formed the Tredegar wharf company, composed of himself and two or three other members of his family, to which he leased about half the land on which Newport is now situated for a term of sixty years. This company granted sub-leases for terms a few years shorter than their own, and as these leases are now beginning to approach the time of falling in, the leaseholder who built upon one of them finds that in making arrangements for extension he has to deal with both Lord Tredegar and the Tredegar wharf company, and that the latter concern can conveniently be made to serve as a Mr. Jorkins, the unrelenting partner of the noble lord. When a business man has put an expensive building on leased ground, which on the expiration of his lease will revert to the owner of the soil, and especially when he has established a business which depends largely on locality, he is apt to get very nervous years before his lease ends, and, by making an early application for an extension, endeavors to secure another lease on better terms than he might expect if he did not take time by the forelock. The terms on which Lord Tredegar is renewing leases on the main street show how complacently the landlords take to themselves values which they have done nothing to create. They are: First—the abandonment of the remainder of the existing lease, amounting in some cases

to fifteen years. Second—the expenditure of a considerable sum of money in rebuilding and improving, under the direction of the Tredegar estate architects. Third—payment from the granting of the new lease of ten-fold the previous ground rent. When these terms are complied with he grants a new lease for sixty years. If the lessee does not like the terms he can hold on for the remainder of his lease and then give up everything to Lord Tredegar.

The established churches are of course built upon sites belonging to the church, and Lord Tredegar has four livings at his disposal. The Congregational, Methodist and Baptist chapels, to which religious bodies the great majority of the people here belong, are built upon land leased from the lord. As these chapel leases expire, the terms asked for continuance are based on the increased value of the land in the vicinity. In the case of one chapel built on the main street on a ground rent of £8 a year, the terms asked for a renewal were £100 a year. The congregation found a bit of land elsewhere on cheaper terms and abandoned their chapel to Lord Tredegar, who converted it into shops. The trustees of another chapel, whose lease is about to expire, have been told that for extension they must not only pay a largely increased ground rent, but accept in the new lease a covenant that the building shall on no occasion be used for any political purpose whatever—Lord Tredegar being willing, if sufficient price is paid, to let the land for the service of the Lord, but not for the dissemination of radical opinions.

The wharf company might, from its name, be supposed to be a company organized for the purpose of building a wharf, but it does not seem to have ever built a wharf or anything else. The land owners have built nothing. They merely allow other people to build on the condition that they shall pay heavy rents, poor rates and taxes, and then give up their improvements at the termination of the leases. During the life time of the late lord it was proposed to open up a more direct and cheaper communication between Newport and the city of Bristol on the other side of the Bristol channel. To do this would have necessitated a short railway from Newport to the shore, and a deep water steamer pier. The local railway company was willing to undertake this work, but as a permissive act of parliament was required they did not want to incur the great cost of urging the bill if it should be opposed by Lord Tredegar. The directors, therefore, called upon his lordship and asked his consent and co-operation. His reply was that he could not consent, because the proposed line would interfere with his son's shooting. So to this day the line has not been built, and the birds and the foxes on the Tredegar preserves are undisturbed by the shriek of the locomotive. But there is nothing particularly noticeable in this. Even the main line of the Great Western railway between Newport and Cardiff has to make a long detour to keep out of Lord Tredegar's park.

In looking down upon Newport from the old church on the hill one sees acres and acres of very comfortable looking workingmen's houses. There are miles of streets of such houses, all of one pattern—two rooms on the ground floor, three bedrooms on the second floor, with a back kitchen built on to the rear, and a small bedroom over it. These houses are from 16 to 18 feet frontage and have a bit of garden at the back some twenty feet deep surrounded by a brick wall. They are stuccoed or stone trimmed and when new look well and comfortable. But the comfort to the workingman is only in appearance. The rent runs from

7s. 6d. to 10s. a week, and this is much more than men with families earning 20s. a week can possibly afford to pay. The consequence is that these houses, although constructed for only one family, are tenanted by two and three families and are really more uncomfortable than tenement houses.

All the houses built on the leased land must be built upon plans and specifications furnished by the estate architect, as they are to revert to the estate at the end of the lease—the builder, of course, paying the estate architect as he pays every one else. Naturally the great body of the people of Newport are merely managing to live; the landowner is the man who ultimately gets the benefit of all their industry and improvements. Lord Tredegar's income from ground rents is now put down at the sum of £60,000 a year, but as the improvements go on the leases fall in, and this income is being enormously increased.

I spoke at Newport on Wednesday night in the Albert hall. The meeting was not formally under anybody's auspices, but was run by Mr. Thomas Jones, a Newport shipowner, who is a town and county councillor, and one of the most active men in the liberal party here, and who, by way of distinction from other Joneses, is known, not as Thomas, but as Tom. To a narrow gallery that ran around the room a charge of one shilling a head admission was made, while the body of the hall was free. The platform was filled with active liberals, and for that matter so was the body of the hall, though some few Tories were interspersed among them.

Mr. Jones began by a reference to John Bright, who had died that day, saying that no meeting of Englishmen or English women could be held that night without their thoughts turning to the great heart that that day had ceased to beat. Although they had not agreed with his recent actions, he said, yet they could never forget the great services he had rendered to the people's cause.

The "hear, hear" of an English meeting is, in its different modulations, wonderfully expressive, and those that followed the chairman's references to John Bright seemed to voice real feeling.

After expressing the deep respect for John Bright's services, which is general throughout the liberal party, Mr. Jones went on to introduce me and to declare his own unswerving allegiance to the great principle that all men have equal and inalienable rights to the use of their native land, a principle for which he has been doing yeoman's service with voice and pen. I was received with enthusiastic and long continued applause, and took occasion, before proceeding to speak on the main subject, to pay an American's tribute of respect and gratitude to the memory of the great Englishman, to the services he had rendered to the cause of the republic when its need was direst, and to what in the free trade struggle he had done for the world. My address was listened to with the deepest attention, and point after point brought forth a storm of "hear, hears," which showed intelligent appreciation and warm enthusiasm. I had spoken for about half an hour when there was a stir towards the door. I knew what it meant, for a ward election for a vacancy in the town council had been held that day, and the rank and file of the liberal party, who made up the audience, were anxious to know the result. A crowd of men came pressing their way into the room, bearing an elderly man with a white beard on their shoulders, and, amid tempestuous cheers, forced their way to the front, carried him up the steps, and finally put him on his feet on the platform. He was the successful liberal candidate. The regular

proceedings then went on again, and after my address was finished I answered a large number of questions from the audience. The meeting was to all intents and purposes a meeting of the liberal party of Newport, and it was to me, and I think to them, a most satisfactory one.

The usual vote of thanks was moved and seconded by Mr. Berleash and Mr. Wheeler, the successful candidate, and both expressed their hearty concurrence in the principle of the single tax. Mr. Berleash, who is an influential barrister and an active liberal, seems to have fully "seen the cat," and his avowal of the single tax doctrine was, like that of the chairman, such as in any of our New York meetings would most heartily have been applauded.

The accepted candidate for the next Parliament in the Monmouth boroughs, of which Newport is the principal part, is Mr. Albert Spicer, of London, who presided at the first meeting I addressed there, and who is exerting much influence in our favor among the Congregationalists of England. His election seems to be certain.

I much enjoyed my stay at Newport under the hospitable care of Mr. Tom Jones, who, being a widower and living alone, keeps what he calls a lodging house for radical tramps. This is, indeed, a lovely country when the sun does shine, and very pleasant were a couple of rides I had behind Mr. Berleash's fast-stepping little mare, accompanied by himself and Mr. Dick Jones, bookworm and antiquarian as well as radical. I saw a deal of the surrounding country in which the Arthurian legends linger, the old Roman cities Caerwaen and Caerleon, old British camps and prehistoric mounds, the old Roman road stretching as the bird flies over hill and dale, and the noble avenues of trees in Lord Tredegar's preserves. By the bridge over the Usk are the remains of Newport Castle, built evidently for the purpose of enabling some Norman robber chief better to collect a "tariff for revenue only" from any one who crossed the stream.

On Thursday night I went to Risca, a colliery mining village some six miles from Newport, on the edge of the South Wales coal belt. Mr. J. R. Jacobs, the liberal leader of this district, presided here, and presented the single tax doctrine as the old English system of taxation which a government of landlords had gradually superseded for their own benefit. The meeting was a large one, composed mainly of miners, and evinced the same sentiments of intelligent approval that I have met elsewhere. The mines about here are owned by Lord Tredegar, who, in fact, seems to own everything in this vicinity. The sitting member for the district is a member of the Tredegar family, and it is said to be a rule of the Tredegar estate that £2,000 a year from its revenues shall be paid to the sitting member of parliament. Besides its own direct influence, the Tredegar interest in elections is supported by most of the colliery operators, who are more or less dependent on the ground landlord for favors. The mines are worked on royalties, ranging from sixpence to a shilling per ton, with the proviso that unless the output amounts to a certain sum a dead rent shall be paid. With the colliery, the operator also leases a certain amount of surface, under a proviso to pay the usual agricultural rent, which on this poor land is not more than five or six shillings an acre. This is with the understanding that he is not to use the land. If he does use it, for works or for workmen's cottages, then he is required to pay £20 per annum rent; and if he uses it for dumping slack or debris, he is required to pay £10 or £15 per acre per an-

num. The landlords thus carry out the principle which they have infused into the tax laws, that the man who uses the land must pay a good deal more for it than the man who simply holds it without using it.

With the revival of the demand for coal, the wages of miners, which are fixed on a sliding scale, have somewhat gone up, and further slight advances are expected. I asked my audience of coal miners what coal miners could make in fairly good times, and was told that it would be about £65 per year. There is a striking difference between these wages and the £145 per annum which, according to Professor Thorold Rogers, were the average wages of an ordinary English laborer in the days of Henry VII, and I did not fail to press this and the reason for it on my audience.

Tom Jones and Mr. Berleash went out to Risca with me, and they wound up the proceedings with ringing little speeches. It is in this vicinity that our old friend J. C. Durant of London has begun to publish a series of papers partly in Welsh and partly in English, and it goes without saying, to all who know him, that he is neglecting no opportunity to spread the light.

Going back from Risca we passed the flaming chimneys of a great tin plate works, making tin plates, so Mr. Jones told me, for shipment to the United States. This tin plate industry is the favorite "teeny weeny infant" of the Jarrett protectionists, who tell us that because there is tin somewhere in Montana, two thousand miles from the eastern seaboard, we ought to put a still heavier duty on tin plates. These Englishmen are to-day making tin plates for us because they have free trade and we have protection. The tin used here comes from the straits of Malacca, while iron is made from ore imported from Spain, Africa and in some part from Sweden. The materials are brought in free. In the United States they would be subject to a heavy duty. So the Englishmen make tin plates and we do not. Some 750,000 tons of Spanish ore are annually imported into Newport alone.

On Friday night I spoke at Swansea in the Albert hall. It used to be called the Music hall, but Prince Albert came here once and attended a meeting in it, whereupon they changed its name in his honor. This was the smallest audience I have had, amounting to not more than 700 people. I had never been in Swansea before, and I am not sure that anybody else has been here to preach our doctrine. I was told that there were a good many people who would like to be present but did not like to be seen. Though deficient in quantity, the audience was splendid in quality, and was appreciative, and, before I got through, responsive to the last degree.

Mr. Randall, M. P., the member for Gower, where he was elected by the votes of the workingmen, came down from London to preside at the meeting, and in introducing me used a phrase which I think a good one. He said they had come to hear the "gospel of fair play." In beginning he moved a resolution expressing regret at the death of John Bright, which I seconded. And taking John Bright's efforts on behalf of industrial fair play as a text, I went on to show how much further it was necessary to go.

My week's work in this part of the country will, I think, do good, and I am satisfied with it. The glaring injustice and absurdity of landlordism are strikingly apparent in every direction. About Swansea the marquess of Beaufort is the great landlord, and although the holdings

about the town are to a large extent preserved he as lord of the manor has a right to all the minerals underneath and derives a great revenue from their working. As illustrative of the difficulty that landlordism put in the way of industrial enterprises one gentleman in Swansea told me he was trying to open a colliery, but to get out his coal he had to carry it through the land of eleven different proprietors, each of whom demanded a royalty of a penny a ton for the passage of the coal.

The land agitation in Wales is being very much aided by the anti-tithe agitation. Tithes are now being collected in various parts of the principality by distraint and sale, in which constables and troops are employed, the people offering an organized passive resistance after the manner of, though somewhat milder than the Irish resistance to evictions. But their spirit is being surely and steadily roused. All over this country forces are gathering, and the education of the board schools is raising up a population greatly differing from the generations that have preceded it. And now that the political power is in the hands of the masses, they have only to become conscious of it to know how to use it.

Dr. Hunter, M. P., editor of the Dispatch, tells me that it is a mistake to think that McLaren's bill to enfranchise women would have the effect of admitting married women to the franchise. On the contrary, its effect would not much differ from Woodhall's bill. It would only give the vote to the occupier, whether male or female. In most cases the husband would have the vote, but in cases where the house is rented in the wife's name, it would give the vote to the wife, and would disfranchise the husband.

With the view to testing the feelings of the average women on the suffrage question and of ascertaining the political effect the addition of women to the electorate is likely to have, Dr. Hunter has had 500 women in his own constituency, North Aberdeen, quietly questioned, with the following result: Of the 500, 222 have already voted in municipal and school board elections, and 278 have not voted. When asked whether they desired a vote for members of parliament, 164 of the 500 replied in the affirmative, 65 in the negative, and 271 did not care. On the question of the disestablishment of the Scottish kirk, 120 were found to be for it, 190 against it, and 190 neutral. On the liquor question 277 were in favor of prohibition, 72 against it, and 151 neutral. As to parties, 168 declared themselves liberals, 21 declared themselves conservatives, and 311 said they did not care particularly for either of the two parties.

Dr. Hunter's constituency is strongly liberal. His inference from this canvass, which was quietly conducted by some of his lady friends, is that the first effect of the addition of women to the electorate would be to increase the strength of each party where it now has a majority—that is to say that the prevailing opinion among the women would be the prevailing opinion among men in the locality, perhaps slightly accentuated. This coincides with the common sense view of the matter. The most important effects of woman suffrage would not be felt at first. It would be some time before women began to think for themselves and to feel their own power.

An astonishing thing happened to me on Saturday. I jumped on an omnibus that was rolling along Fleet street to the Strand and started to climb to the upper deck, which is the pleasantest place on these omnibuses, when the conductor stopped me and said that every seat on the top was occupied. I stood on the

wide platform, thinking to ride along in that way until some one came down, but I was politely asked to get off and wait for the next bus, as that one was full. I know they do such things in Paris—where, in fact, as soon as all the seats are filled they hang out a placard—but this is the first time in all my life that I was told in the English tongue that a street conveyance was full.

Here is what Joseph Hatton in the Sunday Times has to say of our New York street cars. It is a little exaggerated, but may be worth reading nevertheless:

If I were asked for an epitome of American life, I should point to a Broadway tram car. It dashes along, a juggernaut of illegality. The road was built through bribery and corruption. It is owned, not by New Yorkers, but by Philadelphia share holders. The car is overcrowded, to the inconvenience and annoyance of every passenger. On the front platform, in open violation of the regulations of the company, is a mob of smokers. On the back platform, also in violation of the regulations, is a mob of pickpockets. The driver is disregarding a city ordinance by the speed at which he drives, and there is no trip without its accidents. The conductor insolently ignores the rules in regard to stopping the car and issuing transfer tickets. Corrupt, uncomfortable, but fast—that is the Broadway tram car, and it is, I regret to say, in these respects characteristic of the great country which permits it to exist.

Possibly. But the delay of the underground trains at each station is very noticeable to an American. With a door to each compartment, these trains ought to empty and fill much quicker than a New York elevated train, but our New York trains will stop, let passengers off and passengers on, and be under full headway again while the English train is fairly stopping.

I received a letter from Mr. Jan Stoffel, of Deventer, in Holland, who some time ago translated my "Social Problems" into Dutch—"Progress and Poverty" having been previously translated into that language by a gentleman who has since died. Mr. Stoffel incloses me a circular of the Netherlands Land Nationalization society. It is signed by himself, D. R. Mansholt, a landowner of Westfold, Groningen, D. De Clercq, manufacturer of Haarlem, Dr. T. C. Schonfeld, of Ulrum, Groningen, and Th. Sanders, architect, of Amsterdam. They ask me to go to Amsterdam and speak there at a meeting of the Dutch league. If I could only speak Dutch or any one of the better known continental languages, I should accept the invitation with a great deal of pleasure, but my ignorance of any but the English tongue fetters me on the Continent. In very many regards it is a pity that they would insist upon putting the top stories on that tower at Babel!

Speaking of towers, H. A. A. Dombrain of Leeds sends me the following:

THE EIFFEL TOWER AND THE SINGLE TAX. There is in course of completion in Paris a wonderful structure, the Eiffel tower, which will be, when finished, close on 1,000 feet high. This marvelous structure will weigh nearly 8,000 tons. It is unnecessary to point out that a slight giving of one of the feet would throw the whole out of perpendicular. This the designer has provided for. Under each of the four feet he has provided a powerful hydraulic press, capable of exerting a power of 800 tons. One or more of these presses can be put in motion by a couple of men, the tower straightened and a couple of steel wedges inserted. The presses are then slackened off and the tower remains erect as before.

We have here a beautiful illustration of the fundamental principles of the single tax. Mr. Eiffel did not propose to put a rope from the summit or any intermediate point of the tower and by sheer force and waste of energy drag the tower over, with the inevitable result that as soon as the rope was released or broke, back would spring the tower and probably topple over in the reaction. Neither do we propose to pull over our social system by such nostrums as tariff or protective duties, but to put in action the presses of public conviction and insert the thin steel wedges of land value taxation without disturbing one strain on the structure itself. By compelling all the weight to act vertically again on to its proper base, the land value, we shall relieve all the strains which have been set up in the various parts of our social

system by allowing the whole weight to rest, as it does in the Eiffel tower—on the land.

Mr. Mannis J. Geary of the New York Herald and ex-president of No. 6, ho has been over here for a couple of months getting the typographical department of the London edition of the New York Herald in good running order, sailed from Southampton for New York on Sunday in a North German liner, being called away by the serious illness of his son.

It was very pleasant to meet a New York printer in London, and I got from Mr. Geary some interesting comparisons of craft wages in the two cities. In the protectionist comparison of the wages in the two countries which were published during the presidential campaign, the wages of compositors here were generally put down at something like twenty or twenty-three cents a thousand, our protectionists quietly taking the price for a thousand ems and comparing it with the American price for a thousand ems, which is, as every printer knows, like comparing the price of a pint with that of a quart—the printers' *em* being only half of an em. The New York Herald in London pays the same scale of wages as the other London dailies—that is to say, 11½d. per thousand ems—which, translated into American, is, forty-six cents per thousand ems. This is the price that was paid in New York until a little time ago, when the voluntary action of Mr. Bennett of the Herald and Mr. Pulitzer of the World raised it to fifty cents a thousand. And it is a larger price than is now paid in most of the great American cities.

The Herald has a very fine looking set of compositors, and Mr. Geary says they are good workmen, though they do not work as hard as American printers. Here they call the "chapel"—the organization of the men in each office—a "ship," but that this is a comparatively new and local term is shown by the fact that the chairman of the "ship" goes by the old name he bears among American compositors, *viz.*, "father of the chapel." "Subs" or substitute printers, as we call them in the United States, are here called "grasses," and instead of the "subs" taking their chance for work, as they do with us, there is a "first grass," a "second grass," a "third grass," and so on, who take work in order. These "grasses" are in each office limited to a number which it is calculated can obtain pretty steady work. The compositors in London newspaper offices neither "charge time" nor "set bogus"—which means that while kept waiting for "copy" during composition hours they neither charge for the time they are idle nor are they kept employed on matter which is not to go into the paper. Instead of this there is a rule that each man must have a bill for so much for so many hours working time. The effect of this regulation is against the fast compositor and in favor of the slow one. For instance, if the working time be six hours, out of which there are two hours' waiting, a compositor who can set 1,500 ems an hour would get no pay for his waiting, while the slow compositor would be paid as much or more than if he had worked for the whole six hours.

The habits of the London compositor do not seem to have changed very much from the time when Franklin worked among them, and proved by his ability to carry heavy forms that a man could keep up his strength without drinking ale. Every man on the London Herald, Mr. Geary tells me, brings up into the office a fat bottle of British beer, and with every new "take" has a fortifying drink out of it. The bottles are taken down to supper about 12 o'clock, and brought back filled up again. The beer, Mr. Geary says, tells

vastly on the proofs, but the compositors imagine they cannot get along without it.

What induced me to come to this country for this trip was the great need and the great opportunity, as it was represented to me by Mr. Saunders, for infusing our ideas among the rank and file of the liberal party so that they would tell at the next election. Now that the Tories are in power and the liberals, though flushed with success, are in opposition, the occasion is indeed most opportune, as all the meetings I have addressed so far have convinced me. My audiences differ very much from those of my previous visits. My previous audiences were composed for the most part of men to whom the doctrines I preached were new, and who came largely out of curiosity, even when, as the case many times was, they were not absolutely hostile. This time I can see and feel that what I have to say coincides with ideas that have already been making way among them and with their political wishes and predilections. The advance in this country, as with us, depends upon the people and not upon the leading politicians. They will go as fast and as far as the popular current urges them, and the longer the present situation continues the more rapidly and thoroughly will the radical movement go on.

HENRY GEORGE.

FROM NEW ZEALAND.

Indications of the Growth of the Single Tax Doctrine There.

WAIKAWA, Near Picton, New South Wales, Feb. 11.—On Feb. 6 the premier of New Zealand, Sir H. Atkinson, addressed a meeting of the citizens of Auckland in the City hall on the property tax, and its substitute, the land tax or the income tax. The premier made an able defense of the property tax, but the meeting was adverse from the first. The discussion lasted till after 11 o'clock, when a resolution was carried "that this meeting thanks the premier for his address, but records its most emphatic protest against the continuance of the property tax, believing it to be inimical to the real interests and progress of the colony and urges its immediate repeal. It also urges that a tax on land values, excluding improvements, should be imposed in lieu thereof."

Auckland being the largest and most influential city in the colony, it looks from this as though New Zealand would be first to adopt the grand reform. VIGNERON.

PICTON, New Zealand, Feb. 20.—We in this colony have scored a signal success. Sir H. Atkinson, the present premier, ventured to visit the city of Auckland with the object of advocating and defending his pet iniquity, the property tax, the result being that a very large meeting decided almost unanimously against him and in favor of "tax on land values, excluding improvements." This was moved by Mr. Farrall, formerly a member of our legislature, and an earnest single tax man. JOHN GODFREY.

From a Welsh Point of View.

Cardiff, South Wales, News.

The single tax movement has advanced far beyond the stage of theory. It has been given to Mr. George to see a rapid development of his ideas into the second stage of the three through which, proverbially, all successful reforms must advance. Of the first of these, ridicule, accompanied with the most hearty denunciation; of the second, discussion, he is now experiencing gratifying demonstration; of the third, adoption, it is too early yet to speak, but events move rapidly nowadays, and Mr. George remarked a few days ago: "I can see by the character of the engagements made for me in Great Britain, which are generally with religious bodies or liberal associations, that our ideas have been steadily diffusing themselves, and are widely welcomed."

The Manhattan Single Tax Club.

R. R. Bowker delivered the address last Sunday evening on "Party Organization and Practical Politics." He favored the formation of men into compact bodies who could hold the balance of power between the two principal parties. He predicted that the coming issue would be the question of taxation, which would continue until every tax but the one on land values—or, as he called it, the social increment—would be wiped out.

William T. Crousdale will deliver the address next Sunday evening; subject, "Present Progress and Future Methods."

The building now occupied by the club will be torn down on May 1, and a committee is now searching for other quarters.

IN SWITZERLAND.

The Land Reform Gospel Rapidly Spreading There—Report of a Very Successful Campaign Just Concluded.

London Democrat for April.

The land reformers of Basel recently formed themselves into a "Free land" society, which constitutes the Basel section or branch of the German Bund für Bodenbesitz reform. It is expected that similar sections will shortly be formed at Berne, Zurich and St. Gallen. The "Free land" society must of course not be confounded with the English "Free land league," the former being to all intents and purposes a land restoration league or single tax society, using the word "free land" in the same sense as the American supporters of Henry George used it when they adopted as their motto, "Free trade, free land, free men." The object of the society is declared to be the accomplishment, by just and legal means, of the nationalization of ground rent, but, having the socialists in view, the manifesto adds, "the nationalization of production itself does not lie within the province of the society."

The progress of our movement in Switzerland is in no small degree due to the energy of the great German land restorer Michael Flursheim, founder of the German "bund" above referred to. He gives in a recent number of *Deutsch Land* a most interesting account of a lecture campaign which he lately undertook at the request of some of his Swiss friends. Some account of this, necessarily much abridged, may not be without interest to English democrats.

His report shows that our German friends labor under the same difficulties in their fight for justice as do we in England. The ignorance of the masses and the prejudice of the classes have to be reckoned with in the one case as in the other. The arguments advanced against Flursheim in Switzerland are much the same as those which Henry George is dealing with in his present campaign in England, and much of Flursheim's story might, with a little alteration of names, pass as a report of land restoration lectures in London or Norwich or Newcastle.

His first lecture was at Basel. The hall was crowded, the lecture was long, and was followed by a two hours' discussion. It was a little unkind of the Switzer who opened the discussion to trot out such a stale old joke as that about the stupidity of preaching an equal division of property, and the certainty that new inequalities would arise immediately after the division, so that a new redistribution would be required, and so on. We can readily sympathize with Flursheim's feelings, for this old "wheeze," which with some people actually passes as an argument, is painfully familiar at English meetings on the land question. As Mark Twain said at Gibraltar of an anecdote about Queen Isabella which he was tired of hearing, so Flursheim felt inclined to say to his Swiss friend: "Don't—now don't inflict that most infernal old legend on me any more to-day!" The next speaker, Dr. Ulrich Levensohn, attacked the lecture from a socialist point of view. Flursheim holds certain views as to the effect of the abolition of private property in land upon interest. These views Dr. Levensohn challenged, as he had a perfect right to do, but his objection was a curious one. Flursheim's theory was not in Karl Marx, and therefore could not be true! Socialists who swear by the infallibility of Marx in this way are as fanatical as the Caliph Omar, who, when he burned the noble Alexandrian library, pleaded as his excuse, that if the books were in agreement with the Koran they were unnecessary, if not, they were mischievous!

However, the discussion on the whole seems to have been very useful, and Herr Flursheim, leaving many friends behind him, went on to Berne. Here his meeting was even more successful, a large number of influential men taking part in the discussion. Herr Millet, chief of the statistical bureau at Berne, raised a curious objection, "which," says Flursheim, "I should least of all have expected from a statistician." Continuing, Flursheim said:

He maintained that if the Rothschilds could no longer buy land with their money, they would be able to buy up all the machines and implements of production in the world. I naturally supposed that, by "the Rothschilds," he meant the totality of the capitalists, for the Rothschilds alone would not be able to buy a third of the steam engines—to say nothing of the other machinery—which to day are reckoned at about fifty millions of horse power. I replied that if they did so, the world's workers would be able in five years at the most to produce just as many machines, and better ones, if only the land with all its raw materials—that is, all the riches of the fields, the woods, and the mines—were at their disposal. Rothschild would then very soon be able, with his stock of antiquated machines, to open a gigantic second hand store, without exercising the least influence upon the production of wealth. When Herr Millet hereupon raised the objection, "How would it be if the Rothschilds should buy up all the raw materials?" I thought the thing was going a little too far, and I began to lose patience. I replied to the honorable gentleman that, from any other mortal, such an objection would have seemed less strange than from the chief of a bureau of statistics. That such a one should have so little conception of the gigantic value of all the crops standing in the fields, of all the trees growing in the woods, of all the minerals slumbering in the mountains as even to dream of such a thing as the great capitalists of the world buying them up,

especially after they had bought up all the machines, was "a little too rough." Obviously the gentleman had in his mind the Capitalist Copper Syndicate or the American Coal Trust, without considering that such operations are only possible where there is a private ownership of mines. I showed also how in the coal region of Pennsylvania only a very small part of the mines were worked by the owners, in order to create an artificial scarcity of coal, and so on the one hand to keep up the price of coal, and on the other by increasing the number of unemployed workers to drive down wages to starvation point.

The meeting at Zurich seems to have been not so largely attended, owing to a want of judgment on the part of local friends in selecting the place of meeting, and insufficient advertisement. "Nevertheless," says Flursheim, "I had every reason to be satisfied with the success of the evening, not so much because some University professors were numbered among my audience—although I was glad of that—as because it afforded me the opportunity of making clear to the social-democrats in their very headquarters our mutual relations." It appears that shortly before, the *Arbeiterstimme* had hinted that Flursheim was merely a capitalist attacking landlordism in the interests of his own class. It so happens, however, as Flursheim has shown elsewhere, that his own interests as landlord far outweigh those connected with his business. As it happens, he has bought land and houses in Baden-Baden and elsewhere, and as landlord would be a heavy loser by the carrying out of his own reforms. To the social-democrats Flursheim held out the hand of friendship. He said:

I showed them how closely our interests went hand in hand, instead of being hostile. They might believe that we had no desire to alienate even a single man from their party; our agitation is directed to a circle which is to them quite impenetrable, and which we wish to win over to a radical social reform. If they hold the view that our remedy is inadequate it will do them no harm to give us an opportunity of proving the contrary. If we do not succeed, they are as free as ever to apply their more extreme remedies. The nationalization of the land is in their programme also, and here in Switzerland, at the international socialist congress at Basel, it was put forward as the first plank in their platform. We, for our part, are not inimically disposed towards them; for we know quite well that without them and the fear of them, our agitation has as yet no basis.

One of the prominent socialist leaders, Greulich, attacked Flursheim's statement that there was no real over-production in any single article. He referred to certain cotton fabrics which, he said, were manufactured in Manchester in such immense quantities that they could not possibly be consumed. "I asked him," says Flursheim, "whether the two hundred millions of the poorest of the poor in Europe could not even yet use up fifty, or at least twenty or ten shillings' worth of cotton goods per man per year in excess of their present demand; and whether the whole present production at Manchester was anything like sufficient to meet even this increase of consumption? As a matter of fact, the whole cotton production of England in 1882 was, according to Neumann-Spellart, only £97,500,000 sterling; and a yearly consumption of only ten shillings a head among the poor of Europe would by itself soon use this up.

Foreign competition was Greulich's next point. The lecturer gave in reply a quotation from Professor Sehrling's book, which reads almost like a paragraph from Mr. Arthur O'Connor's report on trade depression. According to the professor, it is only the price of land which stands in the way of competition with America.

Other workmen took part in the discussion in an equally able and temperate manner, one of them calling attention to the necessity of "free land" for workmen's dwellings in Zurich.

"So far I had every reason to be satisfied with the utterances of these speakers from the working classes," continues Flursheim. "Here, as in Berne and Zurich, my experience was that the simple man of the people has often a clearer comprehension than the so-called savant. A jurist named Hoch worthily took his place with Levensohn of Basel and Millet of Berne. In a long speech he showed that he absolutely had not understood what I said, and he brought forward a series of the most ridiculous objections. I will here only mention one—the least foolish of them—viz, the assertion that Rothschild with his immense capital would cultivate great estates with which the small farmers would find it impossible to compete. It was of course easy for me to reply that—apart from the fact that the small cultivator attains better results on his small patch than the big landlord farming out his land or working it under an agent, and therefore could pay a higher rent to the state—with such an immense capital as that of the Rothschilds the results must be worse, because it would be impossible in this case to give due personal attention and oversight."

Hoch then seems to have called Flursheim to task for expressing a fear that the working classes would not readily master his theory of the true relations of rent and interest. But after hearing Hoch, "I could now," he said, "offer apologies to the workers, declaring that the excellent speeches of the two workmen who had previously spoken and the confusion of the representative of the learned class, had showed me that I was mistaken. I had now come to the opinion that it was much easier to raise a crop from an uncultivated soil than from a soil chockful of weed!"

The lecture campaign came to a close in St. Gallen, where he made the acquaintance of Pfarrer Kambli, a true minister of Christ, whose name is honored throughout Switzerland. The two reformers held a long conversation on the day after Flursheim's lecture. "We climbed together to the Falkenberg," says the German lecturer, "a little inn situated on a hill, which lay in the most glorious sunshine, while a thick mist covered town and valley. Farther and farther below us had the mist sunken, clearer and clearer the mountain ridges rose like promontories and islands in a sea of mist. It was a hopeful sign! So shall sink beneath us the fog of error and lies, and glorified by the sun of truth the great world-reform for which we fight will rise like an immovable mountain till the mist have vanished and all the world is filled with it."

CABLE NEWS OF THE ENGLISH CAMPAIGN

Hamilton, Ont., Times.

LONDON, April 4.—At the Henry George meeting in Westminster chapel last evening, Mr. Samuel Smith, the noted member of parliament for Flintshire, disputed the speaker's arguments. He was invited to the platform to state his case and an exciting debate followed, resulting in the discomfiture of Mr. Smith. This gentleman was dissatisfied with the decision of the chairman, and arranged to meet Mr. George in formal discussion of politico-economic questions some time in the month of May. The general impression is that Mr. Smith had better cancel the engagement. New York World.

LONDON, April 6.—Henry George, who has been speaking to large audiences in the suburbs of London this week, leaves on Monday for the Midlands and Scotland. He will not come back to London till the big parade of the land tax people in Hyde park, May 26. A circular was issued to-day calling together an international convention of the leaders of the single tax movement, to meet at Paris early next June. It is signed by Michael Flursheim of Germany, by William Saunders of London, and by Henry George. New York Star.

LONDON, April 7.—The announcement is made that Henry George, on the part of America, Mr. William Saunders on the part of England, and Herr Flursheim on the part of Germany, have arranged to hold an international conference on the land question in Paris during the second week of June. In view of the remarkable success which has attended Mr. George's lectures in England and Wales the interest in the conference will be very great. Mr. George has made a surprisingly large number of converts to his theory from among the upper classes, including many gentlemen hitherto conspicuous in denouncing both the man and his method. He has held a series of meetings in London and the outlying districts during the past week. He has addressed crowded houses in spite of the fact that an admission fee had been charged, a thing heretofore unknown at political lectures in England. He will go north on Monday for a six weeks' tour, and the committees which have invited him express themselves as confident of his success, even beyond that which he has thus far met with. Mr. George looks well and hearty, and has apparently gained in flesh since his arrival here.

Special Correspondence in N. Y. Commercial Advertiser.

LONDON, March 22.—Mr. Henry George is having a very successful tour here. It is significant to note that he is getting the whole liberal party here pledged to his ideas. When Mr. George first lectured in London, some six or seven years ago, nearly all liberal politicians stood aloof, and some attacked him pretty vigorously. But times are changed. The liberal party has become practically the radical party; the unionists having left, the party is now frankly democratic. Accordingly, instead of holding aloof now, liberal candidates and local radical leaders are finding it to pay them politically to take an interest in the George campaign and to preside at the George meetings. Even the Tory ministry has just appointed a commission to examine into mineral royalties, and Mr. George has been examined before the town holdings committee of the house of commons. Practically, the entire liberal party will be committed at the next election to the taxation of land values with a view to their appropriation by the community.

It Stands to Reason in South Africa.

Pall Mall Gazette.

The imperial administration should retain in its own hands the profits which will accrue to the owner of the land and minerals in the new territories. We are not asking that the doctrines of Henry George should be applied in South Africa. But it stands to reason that the empire which has won these lands by the blood and sweat of its sons should not chuck away broadcast to adventurers and concessionaires the realized assets by which it might have met its working expenses.

The Beauties of Protection to American Labor.

New York Star.

The workmen at the Clark thread mills in Kearney, N. J., are vividly reminded of the industrial paradise the spellbinders promised them, by a reduction of from 15 to 20 per cent in wages, to take effect on April 10. The language of Walmesley, the English superintendent of this very highly protected home of American industry, is so brutally uncompromising as to indicate a determination to provoke a strike as the readiest way of avoiding for a while the payment of any wages at all.

RHODE ISLAND'S PROGRESS.

The Hopeful Outlook for Future Reforms—Complicated Character of the Recent Election—Passage of Ballot Reform—A Revision of the Constitution the Next Reform—Opposition of the Republican Machine to Ballot Reform—The Single Tax Movement—Election of a Single Tax Man as State Senator—Existing Election Methods and Usages.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—The election in Rhode Island on April 3 was not a decided victory for either party. As far as the general officers were concerned there was no election, as a majority is necessary, and of a total of 103 members of both houses the democrats elected forty-seven and the republicans forty-five, leaving sixteen to be elected. This result was brought about by the action of a "law enforcement" movement, composed mainly of anti-saloon republicans, who were dissatisfied with the action of the republican legislature in voting to resubmit to the people the constitutional amendment prohibiting the sale of liquor, and also with the republican state convention that indorsed this action—a position diametrically opposed to what they had taken one year before. The contest was still further complicated by the fact that this election was the first in which the new voters—foreign born naturalized citizens—had the right to vote. The result shows that probably the democrats hold the balance of power, but it does not show that they have an overwhelming majority. This is a very hopeful outlook, and will give renewed courage to the small band of reformers, among whom are some of the newly enfranchised men, that have been instrumental the past few years in securing a ten-hour law, a labor bureau bill, extension of the suffrage, and, lastly, ballot reform, which went through its final stages in the legislature March 28, and is to go into effect in June. Neither party having a predominance which may not, by a comparatively few votes, be changed one way or the other, they will vie with each other in bidding for the independent vote. The "law enforcement" people, too, while their present movement was in favor of prohibition, have learned their power, and occasions will, undoubtedly, arise in the future when they will again desire to use it.

The next great reform necessary in Rhode Island is a revision of the constitution. The reform element here have for years been agitating for a convention with this end in view, but have been prevented from obtaining their desire by the innate conservatism of the mass of the people. This present election, however, mixes things up so much, and renders so difficult the accomplishment of certain ends desired by some of the strongest political forces in the state, that the probability is the strength of both parties will be directed toward a constitutional convention as the only means left to accomplish their purposes. This will bring about the opportunity so long sought for by the reformers. Probably it is better that such a convention has not been held before, because under old and now passing away conditions it would have been packed by the "heelers" in favor of conservatism. Now, with the new voters in the field and ballot reform in operation, a fair representation is much more certain.

The republican machine here evidently did not approve of ballot reform, as the convention did not renominate E. C. Pierce, a republican representative from Providence, who introduced the bill and fought valiantly for its passage. Walter H. Barney, of Providence, was also dropped for the same reason. The excuse given was that both these gentlemen had voted against the submission of the prohibitory amendment, but the greater reason, as indicated by utterances of the republican boss, General Charles R. Brayton, was that they were ballot reformers. Mr. Pierce was run on the "law enforcement" and prohibitory tickets and received about two hundred votes more than his colleagues.

The single tax movement, as a movement, is not making much headway here just now. In Pawtucket it is much more alive. Many of the believers are deterred from taking an active part, probably by the fact that there seems little hope of accomplishing politically anything at present. The new conditions, when they have had a chance to operate, will undoubtedly change this apathy and perhaps before the holding of a constitutional convention a public sentiment will be created and educated sufficiently to at least give the single tax idea a substantial footing in the new constitution that is certain to come in the near future.

Nevertheless, the cause is booming elsewhere. Dr. L. F. C. Garvin, a thoroughly earnest and consistent single tax man, was elected senator from Cumberland on the 3d. He is a man who has the courage of his convictions, and can be depended upon to present his views in a practical shape before the legislature. In the house are two members of the Knights of Labor, who are probably sound on the land question, and there are likely others who will favor our ideas when the question is brought before them.

From this showing there is no reason for discouragement here. On the contrary, all indications are hopeful. At various hearings before the legislative committee that Mr. George addressed on his last visit here, the members evinced much interest in the facts and arguments that were presented, and have since been quietly considering them.

The change from present election methods to the Australian system will probably be a more radical one in Rhode Island than in any other community that has so far adopted ballot reform. While voting is by ballot, the methods and usages have been such that no pretense is or has been made that it was a secret way of voting. In the cities the wardens in charge of the ballot boxes keep a tally of how the vote is going, examining each ballot for that purpose before depositing it. One officer in Providence in a particular ward has always been considered crusty and unaccommodating because he would not do this. It has been the custom to publish these returns in the afternoon editions of the newspapers on election days, the reporters telephoning the result every hour or half hour. One fact that has been a justification for the examination of the ballots by the wardens is that at each election the candidates would be on from two to five or six pieces of paper. This was owing partly to the existence of the various classes of voters who still remain with us. This condition of things has contributed very largely to the extreme corruption that has prevailed at certain times in some districts in the state, where purchased voters could be checked off, and their delivery thus assured. The surprising thing is not that there was so much corruption, but that with these opportunities there was so little, which speaks well for the future of politics here with improved methods. R. G. LINWOOD.

SINGLE TAX MEETINGS.

Rochester, N. Y.—We have a reading room at No. 80 Reynolds Arcade. We desire the co-operation of all local single tax men, and our work will be limited only by the depth of our treasury. There is still a small indebtedness, and we hope that all who are interested will contribute their mite. Donations of books, papers, tracts, etc., will be thankfully received. Correspondence is solicited from those who are unable to attend our meetings. Meetings will be held at 3 o'clock every Sunday afternoon. Strangers are cordially invited. CHARLES AVRIL, Cor. Sec. Rochester Single Tax Union, 80 Reynolds Arcade.

Cleveland, Ohio.—We have changed the time of our weekly meeting from Thursday to Wednesday evening, and the place of meeting to No. 144 Ontario street, room 16. The weekly dues are five cents, and we invite those who cannot attend to become at least contributing members.

C. H. NARR, Fin. Sec., Room 25, Standard Block.

Providence, R. I.—William Lloyd Garrison delivered an address to-day before the Free religious society, choosing for his subject "Henry George and the Single Tax." A notice was read from the platform announcing that Dr. L. F. C. Garvin, of Lonsdale, would read a paper on the single tax before the Single tax association of Rhode Island on Sunday evening, April 14, at their room, 23 Shad Building, and at the close of the reading would answer questions. GEO. D. LIDDELL.

Brooklyn, N. Y.—The Greenpoint single tax club was organized at the residence of Mrs. Nevers, 39 Broome street, Greenpoint, Wednesday evening, April 3. Thirteen men and five women handed in their names to the secretary for membership. The following are the officers elected: President, Mr. W. H. Helme; secretary, Mr. J. C. Brerton, and treasurer, Mrs. M. L. Valentine. A committee was appointed to secure a hall. A general notice will be given of the time and place of meeting.

A Christian Minister Who Speaks Straight Out.

HARTFORD, Conn., April 4.—Father Huntington, author of "Temperance House Morality," preached in Christ Church in this city Wednesday evening, April 3. It was the third of a series of Lenten sermons, with two more to follow, also on Wednesday evenings. The subject was "The Third Temptation of Christ." Father Huntington showed how this same temptation, to bow down and worship Satan and the glory and power of the world, came at some time and in some shape to every man and woman, and did not hesitate to specify some of the shapes in which it was likely to come, and he did not call a spade "a well known implement of manual industry" either.

After hearing sermon after sermon, modeled after the Mother Hubbard and dog kind, it is refreshing to hear a man get up and say just what he means, and to tell his hearers that he means them, and not some man out in California, somewhere. If all ministers would speak half as plainly as Father Huntington, the world would be saved in two years, and the editor and printer on THE STANDARD could go home and take a rest. Christ Church will be a good enough place for at least one single tax man to go to for the next two Wednesday evenings. W. L. C.

An Interesting Debate to Take Place in Philadelphia.

At the next meeting of the Contemporary club of Philadelphia, on April 12, there will be a debate on "The Truth and Error of Socialism." Professor Ely, of Baltimore; Professor Thompson, of the University of Pennsylvania, and Mr. A. H. Stephenson, of the Henry George club, will be the principal speakers. The Contemporary club is to Philadelphia what the Nineteenth Century club has been to New York.

MANHATTAN HENRY GEORGE CLUB.

POUGHKEEPSIE'S MARKED PROGRESS.

Speeches by Rev. Father James Nolan and Superintendent of Schools Edward Burgess.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.—The single tax club of this place held a very significant meeting last week, and one that indicates a marked advance of the single tax ideas in Poughkeepsie. The subject under discussion was: "The mortgage under the single tax." Incidentally the speakers touched upon many general phases of the land reform movement.

The meeting was opened by the chairman, William C. Albro, whose main effort was to fix the attention upon the distinction to be observed between the security of mortgages after the single tax becomes a practical reality and that under the present condition of things. He maintained that with a few exceptions, mortgages upon unimproved land, there would be advantages in the change for both the mortgagee and the mortgagee of mortgages now in existence, for after all, the best security for a debt is the power of the debtor to pay.

Mr. Fred Arnold followed in a glowing description of the general advantages to accrue from the introduction of the single tax.

Dr. James Nolan, the most eminent Catholic priest of the city, expressed his accordance with the movement, and told in an amusing way his experience in promulgating the theories of Henry George. On a recent occasion he was driving with a gentleman in Harlem, near the new bridge above Highbridge, when he called his companion's attention to the extensive vacant lots in that part of the city, and asked him why the people remained so crowded in the lower part of New York when there were such unused opportunities for them to live near the new bridge. The reply was that the land was held at such a high figure that the people who needed the land were unable to buy or rent it. "Well," said the doctor, "if this new political economy would place it within their reach I think it would greatly relieve the poverty of the city." "I am sorry," said his companion, "to hear such a sensible man as you are talk in that way." There are many people who will neither study nor listen to an advocate of this system of land tenure for fear they will find out something about it. Then, too, there are many intelligent men who really do believe in this single tax but think it will cause them to be regarded as fools if they say so. Dr. Nolan said he had sincerely believed in this reform from the beginning, and that he was determined to do all that he could, in his own time and way, to promote its success.

A pleasant and instructive speech was then delivered by Mr. Edward Burgess, the scholarly superintendent of Poughkeepsie's public schools. He had been agreeably surprised by the large number of intelligent persons who had admitted to him their acceptance of the theory of the single tax. Even persons of wealth, who were regarded as being too much engrossed in lives of pleasure to give attention to things serious, were notable examples of the yet generally unrecognized, though really well informed, adherents of the single tax.

The next speaker was Mr. Henry Bartlett, who expressed his satisfaction with the progress that was making in the education of the people upon this important subject.

At the meeting of Thursday evening of the present week, the speakers were William C. Albro, the Rev. F. O. Eggleston, Dr. May Rew, Edward Drake, Townsend Lyon and Nathan Dalzell. At the next meeting of the club the question, "Why have rents advanced in Poughkeepsie?" will be discussed.

A Pittsburg Meeting.

PITTSBURG, Pa.—A debate was arranged to take place in Pittsburg, Pa., last week on the question: "Resolved, that the discussion of the single tax does not involve the question of protection or free trade." Professor John Horrocks and J. D. McDade were to debate, but Mr. McDade did not put in an appearance. A good meeting was held, however, in the course of which E. J. Gard, a blacksmith, said he was a free trader and always had been. He had gone to England, and there his former views were confirmed. He had been in Liverpool four months and worked there, and was astonished to find that England developed powerful men, notwithstanding the poor food they were said to have. He had worked as blacksmith's helper and got \$5 a week, and was able to live well and save half his salary. He found the purchasing power of money in England was so much greater than in this country as to make England the best place for a married man. But here as there, the common laborer got but little benefit from inventions and machinery, and must look to possession of land for relief.

Single Tax Nominees in Michigan.

At a mass meeting of the single tax men of Manistee, Mich., held last week, it was decided to place a full ticket in the field for the coming city election. The nominees for the city officials are: For mayor, John Torrens; for clerk, J. J. Vandenberg; for treasurer, Jens P. J. Kroger; for justice of the peace, Morris Zernichow. Nominations for aldermen, supervisors and constables of the four wards were also made. W. R. Hall, one of the most active single tax advocates in the west, is the nominee for supervisor of the

Second ward. The Manistee Broadax, a weekly paper, will support the ticket. In its last issue this paper had an admirable reply to a criticism of the single tax that appeared in the Detroit Free Press.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE, NEW YORK, April 9.

There has been some falling off in the number of signatures received by the Single tax enrollment committee during the past week. This is largely due to the fact that pamphlets and petitions have not been sent out to new signers for some weeks. These delays are unavoidable, since the committee cannot afford to largely increase its force, and hence when a special effort to send out a large number of tracts and blanks is made, it becomes necessary to allow work on the new names to fall behindhand for a time. The committee comes nearer to "catching up" at each spurt, and it hopes to send out packages next week to all who have not yet received them.

The committee sincerely regrets that it is not able to meet all of the demands made upon it for single tax literature. The sum of money required for a national distribution of tracts would be enormous, and it will be vastly better for those that can afford to do so to buy the tracts in small quantities, sending their orders directly to THE STANDARD, 12 Union square. An eight page tract costs but eighty cents a hundred, and a four page tract but forty cents, and if people will pick out those that they feel they can work with most effectively they will find them more useful than tracts that they have not thus read. Mr. W. H. Wilson of Memphis, Tenn., writes as follows: "I have distributed tracts to a great many who have not yet signed. They say they want to read up on the subject before signing. I always feel as though we had gained our point whenever a man is induced to read. I think we are gaining ground here rapidly." Such work as this will not only bring signatures but it will make single tax men and is worthy of imitation by our friends everywhere.

A number of petitions have recently been sent back, some because they were illegible, and others because a number of names had evidently been written by one person. In addition to those sent back, some petitions were packed away without being enrolled, because they could not be deciphered and no name of a sender accompanied them. Persons sending petitions should take care (1) That the petitioner signs his or her own name; (2) That the street and number (when in a city) and the postoffice in all cases shall be plainly written; this can be done either by the signer or by the person sending in the petition; (3) That where the signature or address is not plainly written it shall be repeated in pencil on the back or margin; (4) That the name of the sender shall accompany each lot of petitions.

It is surprising how frequently this last requirement is neglected. It is very important that the committee shall know who send in names, because inquiries are often necessary, while the names of those sending in petitions are entered also on the list of workers. This list would be much larger if all persons sending in petitions had accompanied them by their own names.

The list of workers is now completed and divided by post offices and states. The circular already alluded to has not been sent out, however, simply because the frequent requests for the names and meeting places of single tax organizations have not met a general response. Where a club exists in a town the committee desires to correspond with its officers with a view to effecting co-operation before sending out a request to the workers to meet one another.

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week	45,030
Received during week ending April 9,	2,137
Total	47,167

The contributions for the public during the week for carrying on the work have amounted to \$49.21. These contributions last week reduced the deficit caused by the failure of such subscriptions to cover the actual cost of sending out tracts, previously reported, to \$391.43. This week's contributions further reduces it to \$342.22. If our friends will make a special push they can reduce this to nothing before the 1st of May.

The contributions during the week for sending out literature have been as follows:

John Rix, Lion, N. Y.	2 00
W. E. Easton, Louisville, Ky.	1 00
"I. E. W." Williamsport, Pa.	10 00
M. H. McDowell, Memphis, Tenn.	3 00
A. P. Brown, Jersey City, N. J.	10 00
H. G. Lashie, Kalamazoo, Mich.	3 50
Otto Koehler, Riverton, N. J.	1 00
B. H. Nadal, New York city	10 00
"Anon," Memphis, Tenn.	50
"Anon," Fasset, Pa.	30
H. J. Simonton, Dade City, Fla.	1 00
Andrew Valentine, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1 00
Frank Greene, Sturges, Dak.	50
Joseph Tweedale, Kensington, Philadelphia, Pa.	25
G. H. Winslow, New York city.	1 00
C. B. Cooper, New York city.	5 00
Sundry subscriptions in postage stamps	1 16

Previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD. \$49 21

Total \$3,596 85

WM. T. CHANDLER, Chairman.

THE CELEBRATION.

IN HONOR OF JEFFERSON AND "PROGRESS AND POVERTY."

A Big Single Tax Meeting in Cooper Union—Speeches by Louis F. Post, Hugh O. Pentecost and Thomas G. Sheurman.

The decennial celebration of the publication of "Progress and Poverty," which was celebrated on Jefferson's birthday in Cooper union, brought together a large and representative audience from this city, Brooklyn, Jersey City and other towns in this and the adjoining states. On the platform, above which was displayed the quotation from Jefferson, "The earth belongs in usufruct to the living," were many of the best known leaders in the single tax movement, including the vice-presidents and secretaries of the meeting. Before the speeches commenced and during the evening the single tax military band, under the direction of James Beggs, rendered some spirited selections. The services of the band were voluntary.

W. J. Browne, president of the West Side single tax club, representing the committee of arrangements, opened the meeting by reading the following list of officers:

Chairman—Louis F. Post.
Vice-chairmen—Wm. H. Faulhaber, president Manhattan single tax club; Dr. David Wark, president West Side single tax club; Eugene G. Muret, president Harlem single tax club; J. W. Jakeway, president Hudson county, N. J., single tax club; Edwin F. Howell, president Telegraphers' single tax club; John S. Cogan, president Richmond county single tax club; Daniel C. Beard, president Flushing single tax club; Jerome O'Neill, A. J. Steers, Dr. Edward Friedenberg, John J. Hopper, Frank Sullivan, Joseph McDonough, Thomas W. Green, Dr. Walter Mendelson, August Lewis, William T. Crossdale, E. J. Shriver, W. McCabe, F. C. Leubuscher, A. P. Brown, Magnus Gross, jr., Robert Baker, Albany, N. Y.; John B. Sabine, A. Van Deusen, Wm. B. DuBois, E. M. Jackson, Lester M. Clark, Read Gordon, H. A. DuSouchet, Wm. J. Poppert.

Secretaries—Benjamin Doblin, Arthur Fiegel, C. Orlo Allen, Joseph Dana Miller, Chas. H. Mitchell, J. E. Timmens, George A. Hollis, A. B. Stoddard, Wm. A. Wasson, Chas. P. Kelly, Paul Boesig, Theodore Lane.

Mr. Browne then introduced Mr. Post, who was warmly received. When silence had been restored, he spoke substantially as follows:

Mr. Post's Address.

Ladies and Gentlemen: This meeting has a double purpose. We celebrate the birth of the man Thomas Jefferson (applause), and we celebrate the birth of the book "Progress and Poverty." (Applause.) Thomas Jefferson was born 146 years ago. Owing to a change in the calendar he has two birthdays—the 2d of April, which we celebrate to-night, and the 13th of April, which I understand will be celebrated by our friends in Brooklyn. I remember reading, or being told—I have forgotten which—of a green reporter (some reporters are green, though not many), who in reporting a wedding at Grace church, an aristocratic wedding, said that the bride and groom were very successfully married; and in view of his two birthdays I suppose we might say that Thomas Jefferson was very successfully born. (Applause and laughter.)

But that aside, Thomas Jefferson was successfully born because in a long and active and useful life he proved himself the typical democrat of American history? (Applause.) And is it too much to say that the typical democrat of American history is the typical democrat of the world's history. (Applause.) Thomas Jefferson would have been successfully born if he had done no more than embody in the charter of our liberties those immortal words: "All men are created equal, endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." These words have been criticised with sneers as a glittering generality of the French revolutionary period, and it has been said that they are false because all men are not created equally tall, or strong, or of equal intellect; but in the obvious meaning of the words, they are absolutely true. If all men stand on a level all men are equal, even though some be tall and some be short, but when you thrust one man into a trench and put another on an eminence you have no right to say they were not created equal. (Applause.) The words of Thomas Jefferson mean that all men were born with equal opportunities and endowed with equal rights. (Applause.)

THE COMPLETION OF JEFFERSON'S WORK.

But Jefferson's work was incomplete. His hopes were not realized. He saw the establishment of political equality, but to him industrial equality was only a dream. He did not even see the way of gaining and securing it. It remained for "Progress and Poverty" to survey a path to the summit of Jefferson's hopes. "Progress and Poverty" was not the work of a day. It was the result of years of hard labor, years of careful preparation. When Congress was conveying land grants by way of subsidy to the Pacific railroad, and most of us were thinking of iron tracks across

the continent, Henry George was thinking (prolonged applause)—Henry George was thinking of future generations whose right to a place on the earth was being voted away before they were born, and he wrote then, years ago, a pamphlet called "Our Land and Land Policy." That pamphlet was the germ of "Progress and Poverty." Later Mr. George, in this metropolitan city, observed the misery and squalor, the wretchedness, the poverty that everywhere abounds here in the midst of the greatest plenty, and he says the thought would not let him rest until he should find the cause. Even then he was prepared for the work. He was not a college graduate, but he had acquired an education which many a university graduate can not boast of, and, in addition to that, an education which no university gives. He had been a sailor before the mast. He had been a traveler in farthest countries. He had been a journeyman printer. He had been a magazine writer. He had been a working editor. He had been a theoretical and practical politician in the highest sense. He had been a reader and student of books. He had constantly disciplined his mind by systematic study of the principles of logic. He had been a student of institutions. He had been a keen observer, at all times and everywhere, of the conditions that surrounded him. He was familiar with the standard political economy. His knowledge of history gave him that second hand experience, as it has been called, without which any man can only grope and blindly experiment. But he was not satisfied. He was about to undertake a work which he intended should be perfect in every particular so far as it lay in his power to make it. And so he made the first part of his work one of special preparation. History was reread with this special purpose in view. Political economy was restudied, and every proposition subjected to the most profound analysis and the keenest and closest reasoning of which he was capable. When Henry George began to write "Progress and Poverty" he was prepared to write it! (Applause.) He knew all of value that had been said or written on the subject, and if we are to judge by the replies to "Progress and Poverty," he knew all that can be said (applause); and he had made himself competent to winnow the chaff from the wheat. The same conscientious labor he had devoted to preparing for the work he devoted to the work itself. Chapter after chapter—whole books—in that small volume, were written over and over again. Every statement of fact was verified. Every proposition was measured and weighed and tested by all the methods known to logicians, and by every expedient a cultivated mind could invent. Every sentence was scanned and scanned and scanned again. Conclusions were discussed with the learned and the unlearned, with the business man, the professional man, the man without work, the mechanic, the unskilled laborer—all with a view of preventing the escape of any objection which might be suggested by experience or skill or ingenuity or observation, whether from friend or foe. And so after many months of writing, and many more of hard work at special preparation, together with the preparation of a lifetime, the book, whose birth we celebrate to-night, was finished. (Applause.)

AN INSPIRATION BACKED BY HARD WORK.

This is no imaginative story, my friends. It is no exaggerated story. It is the simple truth. Whoever thinks "Progress and Poverty" an inspiration in the sense of being a spontaneous outburst from an uncultivated or undisciplined mind, makes a great mistake. It was an inspiration, but it was an inspiration that would have fallen stillborn but for the labor of its author. Do you wonder that some of us who know how this book was made, who know the qualifications its author brought to his task, do you wonder that sometimes we feel just a little impatient when men who have not studied the subject, who are not even acquainted with its literature, much less with the literature related to it, who have no special qualifications, want to improve "Progress and Poverty" by taking something out or putting something in it, or who flippantly cast its conclusions aside? We are accused of wanting to make of the author of "Progress and Poverty" an economic pope. Well, I do not think that is true. But, without discussing it, if it were true, there is this much to be said for us, that our economic pope learned his trade! (Applause.)

And for a moment, what is the substance of this book? To understand and appreciate it, you who have not read it must read it for yourselves. But in a few words I will endeavor to state what it teaches. It is both theoretical and practical. Henry George first proved his theory, and then he proposed the practical measure for realizing the theory. In his theoretical propositions he attacks a deeply rooted social wrong, but he moves not exactly with the drift of popular thought, but diagonally with it. Let me illustrate this. About a year ago I was at Lockport with a friend, and we were walking near the railroad. A heavy freight train was passing along the track. Just before we arrived there a man had crossed, but the man's dog was still on our side. The dog wanted to get to the man and made a dart to cross under the train. The train was moving slowly and the dog might have got safely across had he gone diagonally in the direction the train was going. But he hadn't sense enough for that. He insisted on going straight. (Applause.) Well, he made several attempts, rushing close

to the train each time and then going back. Finally, he made a rush and didn't go back. Under the ponderous train he went, straight across, and as he got to the further rail we heard one squeal, and that dog was not worth anything any more—not as a dog. (Laughter.) Now, Henry George made up his mind that he would not be that kind of a dog. He made up his mind to cross diagonally. So he laid down the practical proposition that all taxation should be placed on the values of land. (Applause.) No man to be taxed on his labor, no man to be taxed for what he produces, no man to be taxed for anything that is his, but all men to be taxed for the public privilege they enjoy—the exclusive occupancy of the land which belongs by common right to all the people. (Applause.) In order to do this, he proposed to abolish taxes on the products of labor as fast as possible, until we have but the one single tax on the value of land. (Applause.)

PUBLICATION AND SALE OF "PROGRESS AND POVERTY."

After the manuscript of "Progress and Poverty" was finished, a small edition was published in San Francisco. Then the book went begging for a publisher in New York. The great publishing house of the Harpers rejected an opportunity to publish the greatest book of the century. (Applause.) A special arrangement was finally effected with the Appletons. Soon after, Kegan Paul, the great publishing house of London, printed it, but their edition, except a few copies, was stored in the cellar, where they expected it to remain. About that time Mr. George was in Ireland, and the British government conspired to make "Progress and Poverty" popular in London. (Applause.) They arrested its author as a suspect, and within a fortnight Kegan Paul could not get out editions fast enough to meet the demand. I do not mean to say seriously that this little incident was the real cause of making "Progress and Poverty" popular. It called attention to it, but the book was worth the money and after it once got out, people wanted more. (Applause.) Since then, in England and the United States and Canada, hundreds and hundreds of thousands of copies of the book have been sold. No one, not even the author himself, has the slightest idea of the number that has been sold. Not only has it circulated so largely among English speaking people, but (and this is hardly, if at all, true of any other American book) it has been translated into all the principal languages—into French, into German, into Italian, into Swedish, into Dutch, into Turkish, and Vice-Chancellor Bird has translated it even into the language of New Jersey. (Laughter and repeated applause.)

It used to be asked, Who reads an American book? The answer has come. All the world reads "Progress and Poverty!" (Applause.)

At the conclusion of his speech the chairman called for a collection, saying that it was necessary only for hall rent and preliminary expenses, the members of Beggs's single tax band having volunteered its services as their contribution to the celebration.

When the collection had been taken, Hugh O. Pentecost was introduced. He was loudly applauded and spoke substantially as follows:

Mr. Pentecost's Address.

I feel a little strange at having to make an address in connection with a meeting for the purpose of honoring Thomas Jefferson, because, to tell you the truth, he lived so long ago and I have been so busy since I was born that I have not had much time really to flud out much about him. I know there was a great man who lived one hundred years ago or so in this country of the name of Thomas Jefferson, and with every American citizen I am profoundly grateful that Jefferson lived at just the time when Thomas Jefferson was needed (applause); but I am very thankful, now that Thomas Jefferson is dead, that another man has risen up to take his place, and a larger place, just when he is needed. (Applause.)

And while I think I have the reverence for Thomas Jefferson that every genuine American citizen should have, I frankly confess to you that I am far more interested in the people that are alive to-day, and the people that are going to live, than I am in the people who are dead. (Applause.) We should honor the men of the past who rose and spoke and lived out their mission; we should treasure all their words of wisdom, and should follow their grand example; but there is one habit that we must get over—the habit of tying our faith to the men of the past. (Applause.) In this case we happen to be honoring a man who in many respects was a man for all times, but we are living now in a time very much like the time in which he lived, when it is just as well for us to remember while we are honoring the dead that, after all, the main business that we have in hand is with the living.

AS TO ALL MEN'S EQUALITY.

Mr. Post has given you that one immortal sentence we all think of when we think of Thomas Jefferson, taken from the Declaration of Independence, and as he spoke the words to-night I said to myself: "Are those words true? What Thomas Jefferson meant was, all men ought to be created equal. But are all men created equal? I think not. Look about a town like this, or any other town, and see if all men are created equal. Is it not time for us to realize the fact that, in spite of all the Fourth of July eloquence we hear about

our own splendid country, some things that are said about it are not in the least true, and that this is one of them? All men in this country are not equal in any sense of the word. (Applause.) One man is born into this world and falls heir to wide acres of land, to great blocks of stock, to property of all kinds that he had no hand whatever in acquiring. This man comes into the world cared for with tenderness and love and wisdom, is educated up to the full years of manhood with every conceivable advantage. When he leaves the schoolroom to go out into the world he begins where his father left off, with every conceivable advantage. He has nothing whatever to do but to step into the results of other people's labors or other people's acquisitions, whether by labor or not. That man starts away ahead of the place that he could possibly have occupied except for these fortunate circumstances. Whereas, there is another man or man-child born in a tenement house, the son of a mechanic who never made more than \$9 or \$10 or \$15 a week in his life, who never saved on the average \$1 a week in his life, not because he was extravagant, but because he could not save in spite of all that he could do. (Applause.) That man begins with nothing. With nothing, the world is against him, it is not possible for him to have care even in his early life, he has to be left to his own devices from babyhood, because his mother is too hard worked to care for him. He has no schooling, for, although there are plenty of free schools in the land, this boy cannot have the advantage of them, because before his muscles are developed and his bones hardened, he must go to work to help support the family that his father can no longer take care of. This boy starts handicapped, goes through his life handicapped, dies handicapped, his whole life a miserable failure as compared with what it ought to have been. This may be, my dear friends, a great country. It is a great country in many respects—it is not a great country in that particular respect.

AS TO ALL MEN'S INALIENABLE RIGHTS.

All men, said Thomas Jefferson, have certain inalienable rights. That is to say, rights which cannot be taken away from them. That ought to be true, but it is not true. Men's rights have been taken away from them. Among these inalienable rights, said Thomas Jefferson, is the right to life. There are thousands of American citizens to-day who have no right to life. Show me a man who owns no land, who has nothing but his two hands, and if he is not as strong as a lion, if he cannot jump into the industrial fight and claw and beat his way to the front he is certain to fall to the rear. He will starve to death, he will be kicked to death, he will be trampled to death by those who run over him in the rush for gain in life. Whenever you take away that upon which men live you take away their right to live.

The inalienable right to liberty. Is this a land of liberty? How many men here know what liberty is? Is a man who has to jump out of his bed at six o'clock in the morning and swallow his breakfast, happy if he does not have to cook it before he swallows it, and listen for the clang of a bell or the blow of a whistle that will hurry him to his workshop there to stay for ten or twelve hours and then go back to the place that he calls his home—is this man who must do that day after day, and then make an average of about \$400 a year—is he a free man? (Applause.)

Another one of the inalienable rights, said Thomas Jefferson, is "the pursuit of happiness." Ninety people out of every hundred in this glorious country are pursuing bread. (Applause.) One of the most intelligent writers on one of the most able newspapers published wrote, over his own signature in an article, which appeared only a few days ago, that he makes \$9 a week, and that the reason why he does not stop the use of tobacco is because experience has taught him that if he will use tobacco his appetite will not be so great. Tobacco for him, smoked in a pipe, is cheaper than bread. This man is pursuing a little bread and a great deal of tobacco to stop the cravings of his stomach. (Applause and laughter.) Walk through the east side of this town where there are hundreds and thousands of human beings; go up and down stairs in their houses; see how they live; think about them; study their countenances and ask yourself if these people are pursuing happiness.

Men say to us, "Tis true that Jefferson's words are no longer true to-day. 'Tis true that poverty blights most of the people and wealth blesses only a few. It is as sad as it is true, but what can we do about it? How can it be changed?"

THE WAY OUT OF THE DIFFICULTY.

Other things, says Henry George, may have to be attended to in the future, but there is one thing that must be attended to before anything else that can be done—the land must be free for the occupancy of the people. (Applause.) Land is the absolute necessity of life. Lift men off the land and they die. Let men get at the land and, though they may be poor, they never can be enslaved. (Applause.) Our early history has shown that, and if you will let men go freely to the land without a dollar of capital, without a tool in the world, if you will only let them get at the land, it will not be long before they have a house and before they have sufficient land under cultivation to support them. They will be free. You can wipe the government off the face of the earth, you can separate them

from other men; they will live. They may not live very advantageously, but they will live and they will be free. And this is the one thing for which he has laid us under eternal obligations to him. He has shown us the way out. And no matter who holds up before you bright visions of the future you will always have to come back to the place which Mr. George has pointed out, and be obliged to say in the long run, "This is the walk you must walk in order to get into that beatific future, if you ever get there." (Applause.)

Now, my friends, while we rightly feel ourselves inspired by such a man as Jefferson let us not wait for the memory of Henry George to inspire us; let us be inspired by what he has told us while he lives among us; let us be inspired, if not by his presence, by his words; let us be inspired by his thoughts; let us be inspired by the idea that he has given us; for it is an idea which when it gets into a man's mind while he sits quietly in his study inflames his blood, excites his nerves, fills him with a desire to think better and more grandly. Let us take the idea and live upon it, and when we feel, as sometimes we are disposed to feel, despair almost creeping over us, because of the suffering and misery that beset our social system, let us take heart and remember that the world is gone forth, and the world will some day know that all men are created equal and have the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Prolonged applause greeted Mr. Pentecost's closing words, and broke out afresh when the chairman introduced Thomas G. Shearman, with whose speech the proceedings came to an end.

Mr. Shearman's Speech.

We meet to celebrate the birthday of the man who had faith in the common people, the birthday of the man who was proud to call himself one of the people, a man who despised all title, who abhorred for himself the name of excellency, the name of honorable, who never wished his friends even to call him esquire, not even Mister. He would have none of the gewgaws of vanity. He preferred to stand upon his rights, his qualities, his inherent station as a man. It is right that we should commemorate the birthday of a man of this stamp, a man who inspired the movement which gave to all classes those political rights which most of the American people have had so long that they entirely forget that long after the period of the American revolution none but property holders had a right to exercise them.

In the days of Jefferson, to be a Jeffersonian was as vulgar a thing as it is to be a single tax man to-day. But the Jeffersonians lived through it; they succeeded in forming a party whose policy was absolutely irresistible. The great federal political party which supported itself supreme in power from the adoption of the constitution was crushed to atoms like an egg shell before the irresistible might of this Jeffersonian mass.

Alexander Hamilton was unquestionably a great and an able man, and a man who sincerely desired the glory of his country, but he never could trust the people. He looked about him, and saw corruption and dishonesty and trickery, and he believed the great majority of men were apt to take a mean and dishonest advantage whenever they could do it with impunity, and he reasoned therefore that the only way in which we could have a safe and sure government was to have a government managed by a select few which should use the dishonesty of the many in order to cheat them into doing that which was for their own ultimate good. He wanted a strong government that should compel the people to go in the way which they ought to choose, but which he thought they would not.

The reason of Thomas Jefferson's success was that while he had great confidence in his own judgment and wisdom he had still greater confidence in the judgment and the practical wisdom and practical experience of the great mass of the people, and he believed that their judgment, in the long run, not to-day, not to-morrow, not next week, not perhaps next year, but in the course of the days and the years, would be more right than his own.

JEFFERSON VINDICATED.

Which policy has time vindicated? Jefferson was denounced as a Jacobin, and a leveler, and an anarchist, and an atheist. He was denounced in pretty nearly all the pulpits in New England, by all the names—almost with all the profane language which men could use consistently with remaining inside the pulpit and wearing a black gown. (Laughter.) And yet, after all, time has vindicated Jefferson. Time has shown that the people were not to be trusted. Time has shown that his errors would pass away with him, and that that which was good and which formed a substance of his teachings would become the perpetual doctrine of the American people.

Let us cross the water and look at the countries whence the majority of us have descended—Great Britain and Ireland—and let us ask ourselves what is the history of those countries. What has been demonstrated by the experience of that great British empire upon this particular point? We have just to go back 57 years to observe three different stages of the British government. Down to 1832 England was governed solely by a combination of aristocracy and wealth. Afterwards

she was governed by the middle classes down to 1868. Since 1868 she has been under the government of the mass of the people, who have been feeling their way slowly, not really acquiring their power, because the present parliament and government do not represent them at all but have come in by a fluke. Nevertheless upon the whole the tendency of English administration in the last twenty-five years has disclosed the ascendancy of that great mass of people whom Hamilton thought would do nothing but rob the rich, if they had been allowed to have control of the government.

What has been the result? In the first place take the question of corruption and purity of government. Prior to 1832, the British government was one of the most corrupt in the world. Down to that time nearly every large town and most small towns, nearly all incorporated towns in Great Britain, were governed by a close corporation of councilmen, who elected their own successors and passed the office down from father to son for centuries, and the people had nothing to say about it. There never was a more corrupt set of city governors than those. They governed for their own benefit and treated the public funds just exactly as though they were their own private property. In 1834, after the revolution of the middle classes, they declared that these cities and towns should govern themselves, but even then confined the management of government to a class having a large property qualification. That was one thing.

THE TRIUMPH OF JEFFERSON'S PRINCIPLES.

Look back to the days of Jefferson and Hamilton, when the votes of members of the British parliament were regularly bought up as if they were so many sheep. Hamilton thought that was all right and necessary. To-day, under the government established by the great mass of the people, such a thing as the sale of a vote of an English member of parliament is unknown. He votes often to his private interest. But such a thing as a bribe, such a thing as corrupt influence being brought directly to bear upon one of these members of parliament, is absolutely unknown and unsuspected. That is one thing which has come from trusting the people. That is one thing which has come from allowing the poor men to have votes.

Well, they have local government in England. They are trying it now on a large scale. All over England they have just elected common councils; they are from householders. Every man and every unmarried woman who lives in a house which he or she either owns or rents from anybody else has a vote. It is practical universal suffrage. What is the result? Nobody questions that these councilmen are a higher order of men, have greater governing capacity, are more honest, more free from suspicion than those in any of the bodies which preceded them, and which were elected and selected under the provisions framed by the men who were afraid to trust the people.

The result, therefore, in Great Britain has been a steady advance toward liberty, toward justice, toward purity of politics, toward reform in education; for it is only since the common people began to vote that there has been any efficient system of education adopted. We have seen Jefferson's principles triumph in that very land which Jefferson supposed was totally given over to tyranny and despotism.

I think sometimes that Mr. Pentecost and a great many of you, my friends, forget the tremendous value of historic connection, the tremendous value that the past has for us. Do not let old foggy conservatives persuade you radicals that you have no connection with the past, and no rights in it. Your very name "radical," if you interpret it rightly, does not mean one who pulls things up by the roots, but one who pulls away things which prevent the root from having its natural growth. Do not forget that you cannot accomplish anything successfully which you do not build upon the foundation of the past. I would not have you go back and dig about the old foundation, and live forever in the cellars in your houses, but what you want is to build on the cellars, first the basement, then the second floor, then the next floor, and so build a building complete; but always build on the foundation. (Applause.)

THE GOLDEN MEAN.

Now, the difference between an extreme radical and extreme conservative is just this: The extreme conservative wasn't nothing except the foundation, and he is horrified about the idea of going up above the level of the ground, and the extreme radical is so disgusted with the extreme conservative that he says he will have nothing to do with the foundation and he wants to build his house up in the air. He cannot do it. (Applause.) Take care of your foundation, but then build upon it; build by all means, build from below; do not try the preposterous idea of building from above.

The grand feature of the single tax movement hangs around exactly these facts and this principle. It is because the movement in favor of the single tax is a growth, because it is planted on the old foundations; because it recognizes the old roots; because it proposes to develop and to give liberty to the same old tree of society just as it is; because it does not propose to pull anything up by the roots that it is going to be a successful movement. (Applause.) This is the fundamental difference between this movement

and every form of anarchy and socialism and communism and protectionism. The anarchist wants to pull up all society, the socialist wants to remove all present forms of society, the communist wants to create an entirely new society upon his own pattern, and the protectionist wants to do practically the same.

You single tax men are accepting society just as it is and giving it freedom to grow into everything that is good, and taking away everything which draws it down—everything that is bad. You are not proposing to tread upon the liberty of a single man, you are not even proposing to take away the property of any man. Many people suppose that you are, but you really are not proposing to take away from any man the land which he now possesses. You are not proposing to make any great change in the form of society. You are simply proposing a change in the method of taxation. You are proposing to go back to the old lines; for the old line of taxation was to tax the land, and it has only been by a perversion that other things have been brought in. You are proposing to give to men freedom of action, freedom of access to natural opportunities; in other words, you are proposing liberty instead of bondage, freedom instead of restriction. (Applause.)

Once more I rejoice that we who believe in this great, though simple reform, in this small beginning, with a far-reaching ending, and that, too, to be attained by rapid steps—I rejoice that we meet to celebrate the birthday of the man who believed in liberty, liberty for the common people, liberty for all the people, liberty, fraternity and equality, and who saw in these things, even as we see in them, a possibility of all the reforms and all the improvements—yes, of the very kingdom of heaven itself raised from earth toward heaven. (Applause.)

Recognition.

At twenty, "Dreamer," pitying neighbors said;

At thirty, "Fool," a harsher title came;
At forty, "Crank," men sneered with scorn and blame;

But still the genius toiled with unbowed head,

Wide sowing seed that none saw harvested,
Till by and by, at fifty, some cried "Shame!
High purpose our respect at least may claim."

So called him "Mr." guardedly instead.

At sixty one must harvest, wheat or chaff;
And now 'twas "the Distinguished" that he heard.

At seventy fields are reaped; the winners laugh;
And he had won; "the Great" was now men's word.

At eighty they inscribed 'His fame folds in
This orb of the earth.' Yea, who but dreamers win!
HARRY LYMAN KOOPMAN.
Burlington, Vt.

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S BIRTHDAY.

Celebrated by the Henry George Club of Philadelphia.

At the same hour when the decennial of the appearance of "Progress and Poverty" was being celebrated in New York, the Henry George club of Philadelphia held a banquet in honor of the 146th anniversary of Thomas Jefferson's birthday. Sixty members were present, and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed.

W. J. Atkinson presided, and the toastmaster was W. H. Johnson. All the toasts were supported by quotations from Jefferson's writings. The speakers were Isaac Fennburg on "Thomas Jefferson," M. Geiselman on "The New Abolition Movement," Dr. J. W. Dick on "Henry George," H. V. Hetzel on "Free Trade," J. F. Halbach on "The Single Tax," W. C. Ferguson on "Grover Cleveland," J. C. Frost on "The Henry George Club," A. H. Stephenson on "Justice."

Letters of regret from several prominent men were read, among them one from Hon. Chauncey F. Black, president of the Democratic society of Pennsylvania. He said among other things:

"When Mr. Adams, with almost his last breath, declared Jefferson still lives," he uttered a truth. The principles to which Mr. Jefferson gave their most striking expression and their most practical application in the formation and conduct of American institutions, must be coeval with those institutions themselves, and the establishment of a vast system of popular societies, knit together by the ties of fraternal correspondence in one great union for the support and dissemination of those principles, cannot fail to be productive of marked and lasting benefits."

The anniversary was observed by several other clubs in Philadelphia and vicinity.

The Single Tax Would Do Justice.

Detroit News.

Between 40,000 and 50,000 lots in the city of Detroit are unimproved. A tax on land values would double the tax on these. There is hardly a cottage in the city of Detroit owned by a workingman that does not pay more taxes on the improvements than on the land. In all such cases the total of taxes paid would be reduced. Holders of improvements have everything to gain and nothing to lose by shifting the taxes on land values. It is the owners of the 18,000,000 acres or more of unimproved land in Michigan that would suffer from the change.

NOTE-BOOK JOTTINGS.

The Real Estate Record and Guide records decided views concerning the market question. It says that the petty officials employed in the New York markets are recruited from the lowest type of politicians, and that for half a century the blackmailing of the marketmen has been the rule. It also believes that the limited area and lack of proper accommodations of Washington market has tended to build up a swarm of little butcher and grocery shops all over the city, which helped to make living very costly in New York. It goes on to say: "No city can fulfill its duty to its citizens without proper market facilities. Buildings must be provided where all kinds of meat and vegetables can be purchased at the lowest cost and with the least friction. The time has come when New York should have a system of markets laid out to meet its future requirements. They should be edifices worthy of what will be the most populous and rich city on the globe, for we may take it for granted that some time or another New York, Richmond, Kings, Queens and Westchester counties will all be united under one vast municipal system. Our market places should be superior to those of the mediæval and ancient worlds. They should contain accommodations for armories and places to hold mass meetings and monster musical gatherings." Though a heavy-weight practical paper, the way the Record and Guide can leave the solid earth behind it and go soaring around in space is something pretty.

The same paper notes that very little attention seems to have been paid to the large purchase of vacant property by Mr. John Jacob Astor at West Farms—a matter of 207 acres at a cost of \$500,000. It tells us also that the Astors are very prudent investors; that they made another large purchase some seven or eight years ago on Sherman's creek of 150 acres, for which they paid \$150,000, or \$3,000 an acre. Within a few years the Vanderbilts came along and paid them \$500,000 for a strip of only 20 acres, or \$25,000 an acre. The Record and Guide might have gone on to say that this plan of buying vacant land just beyond the built up part of the city and holding it has been pursued by the Astors ever since the family have had any money for investment.

The Astor fortune is without doubt the very largest in America. Other multimillionaires may have made more money in a short time than the Astors, but they have also as a rule lost more. The Astor fortune grows steadily. It makes little show. A Gould fighting in Wall street is a figure to attract attention, and so is a Vanderbilt employing men by the tens of thousands, but an Astor living a quiet life and giving work to only a few is but little talked about in the business world. The development of economic rent goes on without noise.

But economic rent is at work surely wherever there are people. H. P. Garrity, writing single tax letters to the Boston Labor Leader, cites the Boston Herald as authority for the statement that Boston Common is worth for building sites the round sum of twenty million dollars, whereas, when it was made a gift to the city, it was worth about a thousand dollars. The Herald said that nothing had been done to the common itself to enhance its value for building purposes; that the money spent on it was waste in view of that value, since before being available as sites for stores or residences, trees would have to be uprooted, hills leveled, and new streets made. Well, a good many people are thinking over all this nowadays.

The mine workers of the Lehigh region, organized as District assembly 87, Knights of Labor, recently issued an address appealing to the public to find out if possible why six men can meet in a room in New York and dictate how many days in a year the miners of the entire anthracite region shall work, what wages they shall receive, and what prices the millions shall pay for the coal they burn. The Philadelphia Times notes the fact, and its comment is, that "there are a good many people besides District assembly 87 who would like an answer to the same question." True. But why does not the Times, as a guardian of public interests, try its hand in replying to it? GURFE.

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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An explanation of the single tax has been going the rounds of the press. It is an explanation that does not explain. It classes those who support the single tax in two divisions—single tax men limited, and single tax men unlimited. The former, it is said, would put all tax on land and its improvements, while the latter would tax land values alone until all land values were confiscated to the State. This is not the distinction between single tax men limited and single tax men unlimited. There is a school who would confine all taxation to real estate, that is, to land and improvements; but these are not single tax men. A tax on real estate is a double tax, not a single tax. It is in part a land value tax, and in part a labor tax—all that part which falls on the improvements being a tax on labor.

The single tax man limited is one who believes in concentrating all taxation on the value of land as the best mode of collecting public revenues; while the single tax man unlimited is one who believes in concentrating all taxation on land values, not alone as the best mode of collecting public revenues, but also as a means of destroying the monopoly of land which now prevents freedom of contract between employer and employee, and diverts to private use what is of right a common revenue. There is no dispute between the two classes of single tax men as to what shall be taxed.

In a warm defense of trusts, the American Grocer notes the fact that under trusts in the past ten years all prices have fallen except house rents. In the same connection it notices that there is free competition in building, and leaves the reader to infer that where trusts control prices fall, but where competition is free they rise. The trouble with the inference is that the statement is untrue. House rent has neither risen nor kept up while other things went down. Rent has, but not house rent. Is it not true that building materials have fallen? Then how can it be that houses cost more to build, unless wages in building are relatively higher than in other industries, which is not true? And if houses cost less how can they possibly rent for as much or more? The answer, to one who will take the pains to distinguish house rent from ground rent, is as simple as an example in subtraction. Prices have fallen, not because of the trusts, but because supply has kept ahead of effective demand in spite of trusts; but the demand this makes on land, and especially on land in centers of trade, increases its price; and as most users of land pay for it in their house rent, an increase of rent seems to be an increase of house rent; whereas, in fact, an actual decrease of house rent is obscured by a greater increase of ground rent.

We are constantly told that there is plenty of free land in the United States, but that the poor are so shiftless they will not take it and use it. Perhaps some one will now tell us how it is that so many of these shiftless people are camping out all around Oklahoma waiting for

the 23d of April, when they may take up land enough to work upon? If there were plenty of free land, what would be the use of undergoing so much hardship, and waiting so long for so small a piece? And if men will not take up land and use it, whence come these thousands of people whose anxiety to use land is proved by the efforts they make for a chance to do it?

The Manhattan elevated railway, having got much, is eagerly shrieking for more, on the principle that to him that hath shall be given, while he that hath not shall foot the bill. Having roofed in as much street as they need for the present, and gobbled the necessary storage accommodation for their cars from the public domain, they ask for a pretty considerable slice of Battery park, on the ground that they need room to turn round in. They are anxious, so they say, and in this they probably speak the truth, to run more frequent trains. And they can't run more frequent trains for want of sufficient track accommodation at the Battery terminus. So they modestly ask for a bit of park on one side the terminus, and a bit of South street on the other, and say to the long suffering people of New York: "We really want to give you more accommodation; but if you won't allow us to do it, why we can't, that's all."

Last Monday's Sun contains a three-column article on this subject from the pen of Mr. Gould or one of his subordinates. The Sun prints it as a news article, with an imposing "spread head," putting the abbreviation *adv.* at the end, in deference to Mr. Dana's well known views about reading notices. It is a very ingeniously written article. It begins: "Jay Gould would probably have stirred up less of a hornet's nest over his plan for increasing the rapid transit facilities of the city if he had accompanied his letter to Mayor Grant by a map or diagram," and so on—the whole article is written in just that critical tone, with references to an accompanying map that "the Sun has had prepared," and other incidentals, conveying the impression that the Sun has discovered that a great injustice had been done the Manhattan people in the public mind, which it feels it a duty to correct. The article is not an advertisement in any sense of the word. It is simply a forgery of the Sun's editorial influence, committed with the connivance and aid of the Sun itself. The fact that the paper has made a great deal of money by the publication will hardly be thought to condone the offense by any other mind than Mr. Dana's.

The simple truth is, that the Manhattan company has ample terminal facilities at the Battery for double its present traffic, if it would only utilize them properly. And it doesn't utilize them properly, simply because it wouldn't make quite so much money if it did.

The company now runs trains to the Battery over four roads, two on the west side and two on the east. One west side road has a large traffic, the other comparatively little. One east side road has a large traffic, the other comparatively little. The trains on all the roads are run to the Battery and back, the terminal delays being caused by the necessity of shifting engines and crossing tracks. All this delay could be obviated, and an immensely better service secured to the public, by the simple expedient of making the Battery a way station instead of a terminus, the down trains on the east side roads becoming the up trains on the west side, and vice versa. The only trouble is that the company, under such a system, would probably make rather less money than it will if it can get hold of some more park and street and work the problem out that way.

The assembly of New York has passed a bill making it a misdemeanor to sell tobacco in any form to children under sixteen years of age. What this law is meant to do is to prevent children from using tobacco. What it really will do, if it ever goes into operation, will be to make the children lie.

What nature cannot do, the legislature of New York may as well make up its mind that it cannot do either. Nature has a penal law against the use of tobacco by infants, and enforces it pretty strictly. It checks the evil, but it doesn't extirpate it. And the reason is that restrictive human legislation forces many of our boys into such unnatural conditions that things that nature, left alone, would make abhorrent, become attractive.

QUEERLANDO.

A Single Tax Kingdom as Depicted in Mr. Buchanan's New Musical Farce-Comedy "Bambo."

CHICAGO, Ill.—The growth of the single tax idea is shown in the fact that playwrights are finding in it a matter for stage treatment. The first to utilize it, so far as I know, for dramatic uses, is J. C. Buchanan of Dwight, Ill., whose new musical farce "Bambo" is to be produced in one of the Chicago theaters the coming season. I understand that the veteran manager Benton of the Silver Spur has it in hand, which insures it a first class send off. The single tax feature comes in a single scene, but it presents the whole scheme with a completeness and a breezy Hiawathan rhythm that can hardly fail to please an average audience. The play is of course copy righted, but I have been permitted by the author to copy for the exclusive use of THE STANDARD that part relating to the single tax.

Bambo is a tramp. He and his comrades surprise some romantic young ladies in a farm house. The latter are at first greatly frightened, but by assuming a mock heroic style Bambo pacifies and amuses them. He announces himself a king and magnanimously assigns the young ladies to his "ministers," Lord Squat, Count Grub, etc., but to the handsomest of the group he says with great dignity, "You shall be my queen." "Nay," replies Julia, "before I consent to take the scepter you must describe to me the kingdom over which you invite me to rule." Omitting interruptions, I quote Bambo's answer, which covers the single tax element of the farce-comedy:

THE SINGLE TAX KINGDOM.

Bam.—My great ancestor, Bambona, Called his people to his presence And said he, my loyal subjects— Poverty's the curse of curses, Poverty's the rheumatism, Poverty's the howling toothache, Poverty's the itching sorrow, Poverty's the stormy microbe, Poverty's the devil's caldron, Tainting with its putrid vapors All the tribes of Taxiola. Poverty's a hangdog bully, Stalking like a sneaking poltroon Only among common people, Slinking like a fawning coward From the glance of kings and princes. I dislike, I despise it, And it is my royal pleasure That we banish it forever From the borders of Queerlando.

And the people, much delighted, Shouted, "Excellent, Bambona, 'Tis a very good idea."

Then old Bam unrolled a parchment, And with books and language solemn Read this message to his people: "I, Bambona, King of Queerlando, Do hereby decree and order That the land with all its treasures, Without reservation, As of natural right belongs in Usufruct to all the people. I decree that all Queerlanders, Big and little, wise and foolish, Shall henceforth be kings and princes, With an equitable title To an undivided kingdom.

Being kings you'll pay no tribute, Tax or custom, tithe or bounty, Duty, license, toll or levy, And whatever your skill shall fashion, Genius coin or prudence gather, Shall be yours without abatement.

But it is decreed that he, who For his pleasure or his profit, Useth land, shall, for the using, Make such courteous dotation To his equal fellow monarchs As comports with right and honor: And these royal ties shall ever Be expended for the common Weal and comfort of Queerlanders, And the glory of Queerlando. I declare that this shall henceforth Be the charter of Queerlando. Pledge me now that you'll maintain it."

The people shouted back, "We swear it." Off they scampered, and with hammer, Plane and shovel, plow and pickax, Loom and compass, pen and pencil, Pounded, powdered, wrote, invented. "For," said they, "we have a soft snap." And my ancestor, Bambona, With the royalties he garnered, Fretted all the land with easements.

Now, if you will visit Queerlando, Travel over all my kingdom, From the ocean to the mountain, Not a millionaire or pauper, Not a hovel nor a prison Will perplex the panorama.

Cities larger than Chicago, Having streets as broad as rivers, Hard as granite, clean as gravel, Over which a myriad coaches Whirl with never ending jingle, Whirl along the elevated, Whirl through subterranean grottoes, Whirl forever back and forward, Through the fairy halls beneath ground: Whirl forever fore and backward Over latticed vaults above ground.

Railroads interlock with railroads, Solid trains of palace coaches Dash like racers o'er the meadows, Fly like eagles o'er the rivers, Rush like demons through the mountains, Freight all in town and country, Every coach with kings and princes, Queens, princesses, merry blue bloods, Who, like regal magnates elsewhere, Freely use these royal easements.

Squares and fountains in the cities, Lakes and mountains in the country, Great museums filled with paintings, Parks and boulevards with statues, Ornate gardens, antique parterres, Schools and colleges for learning, Amphitheaters for pleasure, Broad arenas for amusement, Walking, riding, resting, playing, Held and used in common by the Kings and princes of Queerlando.

Every place of habitation, Be it cottage, grange, or mansion, Is a palace in appointments, Flooded by the golden sunlight, Watered from a central fountain, Warmed and lighted by the magic Throbbings of electric steel nerves, All provided by the ever Potent budget of Queerlando.

The comedy abounds with "catchy" songs, brilliant, snappy and satirical dialogue, rapid action and telling situations, and will probably be a hit. There is, however, danger that Bambo's glowing description of Queerlando may be considerably cut, perhaps eliminated altogether. The theater going public is probably not quite prepared to enjoy the lines, but that so observant and successful a play writer as Mr. Buchanan thinks it is, shows the wonderful progress the single tax idea has made and is making. So confident is he that a new field has been opened for dramatic work, that he is already engaged in planning a drama, or comic opera, in which society under the new social conditions will be the motive. C. HINTON.

SOCIETY NOTES.

Dr. and Mrs. Seward Webb, whose invalid children are now sufficiently convalescent to leave home, started on Saturday in their superbly mounted special train, with an army of attendants, including trained nurses, whose lines have fallen in pleasant places for once in their lives at least, and every means and appliance for swiftly moving comfort and enjoyment. Mr. and Mrs. John Purdy accompany them, and a steamer has been chartered to take them to Alaska, should their inclinations point that way after they reach San Francisco. One of the cars cost \$35,000, and the whole train is valued at \$125,000. The conductor and brakemen are specially uniformed for the train. Every convenience and luxury that can be packed into the cars are there, including a new \$1,200 piano and a \$500 library.

Charles D. Kellogg of the Charity organization society, in a recent talk with a Press reporter, said that during the last seven years 117,000 families living in New York city have been reported as dependent; that is, as being supported more or less by charity. At least fifteen per cent of these, he added, have been taken out of the ranks of pauperism and become self supporting. The conclusion of the charity organization people, based on examinations of over 20,000 cases, is that about one-half of those seeking relief needed work rather than alms. Mr. Kellogg said that the number of "work seekers" at present in the city was very close to 50,000.

Dr. John P. Munn has for five years been doctoring Jay Gould, and has practically given up all general practice to devote himself wholly to the prolongation of Jay Gould's life. He was with Gould all last summer, when the millionaire was so dangerously attacked by nervous prostration, and slept in the next room to him every night at Irvington, Saratoga, in this city and while off on a yachting cruise. He is now making the western trip with his patient. His salary is not known, but a physician well acquainted with him says that it is not less than \$15,000 a year. —[Philadelphia Times.

James Mulligan, for eighteen years night watchman at the Seventh avenue car stables, committed suicide last week while temporarily insane, by jumping from the fifth story window of the house 791 Seventh avenue, where he lived with his aged wife. He was a sober and attentive workman and had not lost a day during his long term of service until the recent strike, when he went out with the rest of the employees. After the strike ended he was unable to get work, as his place was filled. He could not get other work, and becoming despondent, killed himself in the manner described.

Judge Nelson of Poughkeepsie asked the supreme court, a few days ago, to grant the executors of the will of the late William T. Garner the power to appropriate \$25,000 a year for the personal use of Mercellie Thorn Garner, now living in France, and daughter of the dead man. The motion was granted. Miss Garner had been receiving a large income heretofore, but an increase was necessary, she said, because it cost her \$10,000 a year for dresses alone.

Coroner Levy was last week notified of the suicide of Solomon Reiser, fifty-four years of age, at 320 East 115th street. Reiser was a clerk, though out of employment, and married. He could not secure work and went into his bedroom and swallowed a dose of Paris green. His wife discovered him, and a doctor was summoned, but when he arrived Reiser was dead.

MEN AND THINGS.

Railroad building is not a prosperous industry in China. There are less than ninety miles of track in the whole empire, and the permission given by the government to extend the system has been withdrawn. Two reasons are given for this prudent conservatism. The court astrologers say that the railway is spiritually unwholesome; and the boatmen and teamsters insist that it is ruining their business.

Say what we will about Chinamen, there is one thing we can't help admiring them for. They have the courage of their convictions. They know, as well as President Harrison and his cabinet, that it is a bad thing to allow the common people to buy and sell at pleasure and exchange their products with one another too easily, and they act upon the knowledge. When they find people using the railroad too freely they just forbid the building of any more of it. It's a little cheeky in us to send missionaries to such a people as that. We ought rather to invite them to lend us a few political economy professors.

Last Saturday afternoon a workingman was arrested at his place of employment in Brooklyn, brought to police headquarters in New York, and there locked up. The newspaper account of the occurrence, printed next day, says: "When he reached police headquarters here, he was placed in a cell and no one was allowed to see him, nor could any one learn upon what charge he was arrested."

The theory of our criminal law is, that a man accused of crime is presumed to be innocent until proved guilty. Society claims the right to infringe his liberty sufficiently to secure his appearance for trial by detaining him, or exacting bail, but repudiates any right to force him to confession by torture, by seclusion, or even by cross-examination. Such is the theory. The practice is fast becoming very different.

There is a real danger in the custom that is fast growing up among us of imprisoning suspected persons in secret cells, of subjecting them to torture, which differs from the old-fashioned kind only in being applied to the mind instead of to the body, and of convicting them or their confederates upon evidence thus obtained. It is no answer to say that certain kinds of crime, as conspiracy, can rarely be brought home to the guilty ones in any other way. Because there are conspiracies of accusers, as well as of accused, and this Russian method of criminal practice has a strong tendency to encourage them.

The Press's "Talks on the tariff" are a perpetual delight. There is a recklessness of contradiction about them that is simply charming—to anyone who will take the trouble to read them for a week or so in succession. Here are two of them that are perfect gems when taken together.

On April 5 an inquirer quotes the tariff talker's oft repeated assertion that the fall in the price of steel rails in the United States, from \$166 in 1867 to \$26.50 in 1889, is entirely due to the protective tariff; and begs him to explain what it is that has reduced the price of rails in England from \$166 to \$22.50 within the same period. To which the tariff talker gravely answers that "large production makes low prices and if it is large enough it brings prices down all over the world. The American production of steel rails thus affected English prices." This is definite and satisfactory. It demonstrates, with charming lucidity, that the protective system is a blessing all around—a blessing to those who live under it, and a still greater blessing to those who don't. The tariff does it all, and does it better where it isn't than where it is. You will have to study this sentence carefully to grasp its meaning, but the Press's theories require convoluted and intricate language and are specially hard on pronouns.

But on April 8, the tariff talker, having no letters to answer, looks over his exchanges for a starter, and clips this from the London correspondence of the New York Sun:

Are Pittsburg people aware that steel rails are selling for \$130 a ton at Johannesburg, in the South African gold district?

On this the tariff talker informs us that the South African gold district is situated between the Zambesi and Limpopo rivers. Also that steel rails once sold for \$166 here, and were worth \$130 in 1875, but since that time "the duty on imported rails"—and all the rest of it.

This is hardly as lucid as the talk of

April 5. There is a painful nebulosity about it. It may mean all sorts of things. The tariff talker may intend to show that if it weren't for our tariff the South African gold districters would be paying \$1,000 a ton for their rails. Because, if our tariff has reduced prices all over the world, and has brought them down in England from \$166 to \$22.50, it is altogether probable that without the tariff the African price would be increased in the proportion of 166 to 22.50. Or it may mean that we ought to double our tariff in a spirit of African missions. Or it may mean—in fact, it may mean almost anything. That's the great beauty of the Press's tariff talks—you can get any meaning out of them you want to. Perhaps that's what they're written for.

But the tariff talker is by no means the only puzzle-head on the Press's staff. Another member of its corps is studying the question of the unemployed; and here is a specimen of the way he talks:

Fortunately the problem confronts us in the midst of a commercial and agricultural prosperity unexampled in the history of the world. There can be no pretense that the evil is with out a remedy. Abundant means are at hand awaiting only that action which must arise from actual knowledge of the facts, and due consideration of the best methods of procedure.

High wages and a permanent revival of trade must follow, once occupation is given to the enormous surplus of unemployed and unproductive labor that now clogs the wheels of commerce, cuts down compensation by fierce competition, and is slowly but surely recruiting the hordes of criminals and paupers that burden and threaten society.

Read this carefully, and you will have to acknowledge that it beats the tariff talker, if such a thing be possible. Just cut it up into chunks, and look at them.

We are in the midst of a commercial and agricultural prosperity unexampled in the history of the world.

We are afflicted with an evil for which we have yet to find the remedy.

We are not yet earning high wages.

Permanent revival of trade is still in the future.

We have an enormous surplus of unemployed and unproductive labor.

The wheels of our commerce are clogged.

Fierce competition is cutting down compensation.

We have hordes of criminals and paupers.

They are being slowly but surely recruited.

They burden and threaten society.

Nice state of affairs, isn't it? But why didn't the Press tell us all this last October? Or have these evils only come upon us since the protectionist party came into power?

It is interesting, though not particularly pleasant, to compare these utterances of the Press with some of the reports that reach us from that wicked free trade country that is forever pining to deluge us with the things we want. England, of course. In certain ways they seem to be doing pretty well in England, notwithstanding our refusal to compete with them in the markets of the world. Here is Industries, one of the foremost English trade journals, summing up the condition of the skilled labor market. "Highly satisfactory," Industries says it is. Ship building doing finely. "Never, except in the wonderfully busy period comprised within the years 1881-82-83, has the ship building trade been so active as it is at present, and the number of men fully employed in it is nearly equal to the figures of that time." The engineering trades too, are doing finely. So are the coal and general iron trades. The statistics of the trades unions have been collected by the board of trade, and Industries gives the official figures. Membership of iron ship builders unions, 27,500. Proportion of men out of work, 1.8 per cent. Membership of engineering trades unions 80,803. Percentage of unemployed 2.5. Total membership of seventeen trades unions from which reports have been received, 174,519. Total of members unemployed 4,831, as against 5,363 in the previous month. "If the various sections of the coal and general iron trade could have been included," says Industries, "the percentage of unemployed would be much less."

These things are worth thinking over. They have a meaning.

Union county, in New Jersey, is vexed about its tramps. It doesn't know what to do about them. The road between New York and Philadelphia passes through the county, and the consequence is that tramps are more than ordinarily

plentiful. The county jail at Elizabeth is kept full of them, and still they keep coming. The Chosen Freeholders are puzzled what to do.

The reason why the Chosen Freeholders are puzzled is this. They have been trying to make life a burden to the imprisoned tramps by keeping them at work breaking stone for use on the streets of Elizabeth. This plan was successful enough as to its main object; the prisoners had a sufficiently disagreeable time of it. The only trouble was that it didn't pay. The stone breaking had to be done under sheds open to the air, and this necessitated winter clothing for the laborers, for which the county had to pay. Hammers cost money, too, the stone had to be carted to and from the jail, and the wages of an inspector had to be provided. Altogether, it was found that it was considerably cheaper to buy stone already broken in crushing machines. So the stone breaking was given up and the tramps kept in idleness. But this system also developed its evils. It soon appeared that mere imprisonment had an encouraging rather than a deterrent effect upon the industry of tramping. The tramps found life in jail decidedly more comfortable than life out of it, and welcomed arrest and conviction. As for the moral penalty—the disgrace of being sent to prison—somehow they didn't seem to mind that. Tramping round the country, begging for food, sleeping in railway round houses, and constant lying, are not conducive to moral dignity. The tramps began to beg the justices who sentenced them to give them the longest terms of imprisonment possible.

So now the chosen Freeholders are falling foul of the justices and of one of them particularly. Justice Hetfield, of the Elizabeth police court, is accused of being altogether too liberal in his treatment of prisoners. The Freeholders say he sends men to jail who are not fairly entitled to such a favor. They complain that fellows whose only merit is that they have been stealing rides on railway trains, are actually treated as first class criminals, and rewarded with terms of imprisonment. This, the Freeholders complain, is making the jail altogether too common. They think it would be wiser to confine the privilege of imprisonment to a more advanced class of criminals, and not to send a man to jail unless he has shown himself entitled to the favor by some distinctly overt act of wickedness, such as stealing or assault. To all of which Mr. Justice Hetfield replies that it is none of his business. The law defines his duty, and he proposes to do it. The law says that if a man begs for food in Union county, or steals a railway ride, he shall be sent to jail; and Mr. Hetfield declines to nullify the law at the bidding of the Chosen Freeholders. Tramps have rights, as well as Freeholders, and Justice Hetfield proposes to maintain them. Altogether the situation is perplexing.

The worst of it is, that for such a situation there is no solution. The Chosen Freeholders of Union county haven't found this out yet, but they will before they get through with it. When a community has become civilized enough to refuse to kill off its workless population, and is still sufficiently barbarous to forbid men working when they want to work, such a deadlock as this is sure to come sooner or later. When men are refused the right to use the earth, and can't find any earth owners to employ them, society must either kill them or support them. There is no third course. If the workless ones don't die, manifestly they must live. And if they can't live by productive labor, they must subsist at the cost of the community. We can put them in jail, or we can let them go around loose, begging and stealing; but in one way or the other we must provide for them.

T. L. McCREADY.

A Good Suggestion.

LYNN, Mass., March 29.—Ask every reader of THE STANDARD to take from that paper brief clippings of facts, abstracts of arguments, any interesting bit of information and send them to the small local papers. Few of the papers have THE STANDARD among their exchanges and will welcome these bits of news for publication. In that way we keep the matter in the Lynn papers and set innumerable people to inquiring and investigating.

C. H. LIBBEY.

Well, We are Hearing of It Now.

Rhode Island Democrat. Somehow we didn't hear from the high protection orators on the stump in the last canvass of prognostics of the present industrial condition in case Mr. Harrison was elected.

TELLING THE RISING GENERATION ABOUT IT.

The article reprinted below appeared in a recent issue of the Youth's Companion, a journal for the young folks with which probably every reader of THE STANDARD is acquainted. It is a significant and welcome evidence of the rapid spread of the movement for industrial emancipation when one of the most widely circulated and carefully edited juvenile papers in the world—and the Youth's Companion is both of these—feels it a duty to its readers to describe the single tax theory and purpose in terms so careful and exact.

We hear much nowadays of the "single tax" agitation. There is a "single tax" league, which has a considerable membership throughout the country; public meetings in the interest of the "single tax" are held, and several newspapers and many books advocating the "single tax" are published or have been published. What is this "single tax"?

It is, in brief, a proposition to abolish all taxation except that upon land, or the value of land. It does not propose that even buildings shall be taxed, but that all the taxation of the nation, the state, and the municipality shall be laid upon the land alone, exactly in the same measure, whether it be built upon or vacant, but in proportion to the value which it possesses from nearness to the centers of population or business.

The "single tax" theory is based upon the doctrine that the land rightfully belongs to all the people. That the exclusive possession of land by individuals is not right, and that the separate ownership of land might be merged into a sort of joint-stock ownership of the public without injustice, was first suggested in England by the social philosopher, Herbert Spencer. The doctrine received a much fuller statement in this country at the hands of Mr. Henry George, in a book called "Progress and Poverty," first published in 1879. Mr. George is accounted the founder of the single tax system, and is the head and front of the agitation.

Mr. George and his followers maintain that, under the present system of private ownership of land, the burden of poverty resting upon the mass of mankind grows heavier as the world makes material progress; that in spite of the increase in the world's productive power, wages always tend to a minimum which will give but a bare living. They hold that private ownership of land, with the privilege of holding it for speculative purposes and of forcing up rents as population and industry advance, has the effect to put a monopoly of natural opportunities into the hands of the land owners. The natural opportunities being thus monopolized, laborers are compelled to compete with each other to such an extent as to force wages down to the lowest possible point.

As they hold that wages of all classes of laborers depend upon the productive cultivation of the soil, Mr. George and his followers maintain that the true remedy for poverty is to make the land common property.

They do not, however, propose to disturb the occupants of land, so long as the occupants make full use of their land. They propose, on the contrary, to allow the possessors of the soil to continue to buy and sell and bequeath it. But they do propose to take all the rent by taxation. To do this would make the occupant of the land a tenant paying rent to the state.

This proposition, which was first known under the name of "land nationalization," has since, by common consent of its advocates, become known as the "single tax" movement, the efforts of its friends having been directed more specifically to the abolition of all other forms of taxation. They hold that the removal of taxation from industries in general would stimulate manufactures and business, at the same time that it destroyed speculation in land, to such an extent that the general prosperity would be immensely increased and wages greatly raised.

They hold that the revenue from the single tax would be so large as to enable the government to maintain schools and colleges, build and operate railroads and telegraphs, and do many things which it does not now engage in.

Their plan, also, of course, being a "single tax," involves the abolition of tariffs upon imports. The "single tax" men are absolute free traders.

In the recent presidential campaign, in fact, the majority of the advocates of the "single tax," under Mr. George's leadership, for the time being subordinated the land issue to the anti-tariff issue, and refrained from separate party action on the ground that the success of one of the two great parties—the democratic—was most likely to conduce to the removal of the protective tariff.

The agitation for the "single tax," or against private ownership of land, is by no means confined to the United States. It has made much headway in Great Britain, and is very strong in the Australian colonies, where one colony, South Australia, has by law limited municipal taxation to unimproved land values.

The Lion in the Path.

Parkersburg, W. Va., Index. Every week or two we hear of capitalists coming here to look for a location, but land owners find it more profitable to hold on and let the land lie vacant. Tax them out of this.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

The Christian Church and Social Reform.

"Christianity versus Socialism" is the title of a paper by Lyman Abbott in the North American Review for April. The heading is somewhat misleading. "Christianity and socialism" would have been better. For Dr. Abbott does not find any antagonism between the two systems. So far as the temporal welfare of mankind is concerned, he thinks that both have the same object in view. Both want to make men happy in this life; the difference between them is one of method; and however the socialist may regard Christianity, the Christian, so Dr. Abbott seems to think, may look on socialism with an altogether sympathetic feeling. "We rejoice," he says, speaking of the church, "in legal, social, sanitary reform, and give godspeed to all such reformers; but, in our work as churches and ministers, we propose to work for the rebuilding of men rather than for the reforming of social organizations; for the change of character, rather than of environment; and by appeals to men in the order of moral supremacy; appealing first to the dominant sentiments of reverence, hope, faith and love; second, to the intellectual and social considerations of prudence and present well being; last of all, to the mere physical and animal nature and its needs." An essay of which such words as these are the conclusion and summing up, can scarcely be called a statement of a case of Christianity as opposed to socialism.

Dr. Abbott has thus no quarrel with socialism as to its aims. He simply points out that its method of reform is not the method of Christianity. And what he endeavors to demonstrate is that the Christian method is the more efficacious of the two, and will soonest and most certainly produce the results at which socialism aims. He accepts James Russell Lowell's definition—"Socialism means, or wishes to mean, co-operation and community of interests, sympathy, the giving to the hands, not so large a share as to the brains, but a larger share than hitherto, in the wealth they must combine to produce—means in short, the practical application of Christianity to life, and has in it the secret of an orderly and benign reconstruction"—and states explicitly: "This is what Christianity means, or wishes to mean."

It must be noted that under the general term "Socialism" Dr. Abbott includes all movements towards social reform other than the distinctively Christian movement. "Christless socialism" he calls them, emphasizing the definition by speaking of their antithesis as "Christian socialism." Among the Christless socialists he includes free traders, protectionists, single taxers, income taxers, state socialists and anarchists. Against their methods he sets "the methods of the Christian church and the Christian ministry," and compares the two.

"Christless socialists," Dr. Abbott thinks, seek to benefit humanity by modifying the social organism. "They proceed on the assumption that, if the social organism can be made right, the condition of mankind will be made right. . . . One social reformer tells us that we must abolish the tariff, and then prices will be lowered and wealth distributed; another tells us that we must raise the tariff, and then wages will be raised and wealth will be distributed. One social reformer tells us we must levy all taxes on the land and take them off everything else; another tells us we must take them off the land and levy them on incomes. . . . But the high tariff man and the free trader, the land tax and the income tax advocate, the state socialist and the anarchist, widely as they differ, all agree in this one fundamental doctrine—that if we can only make the social organism right, humanity will be well taken care of."

Again, "Modern social philanthropy," Dr. Abbott says, "acts upon the philosophy that man is made by his environment; that his surroundings are the creator, and he is the creature. Accordingly it demands clean streets, better food, good sewerage, improved lighting, improved tenements, and so on to the end of the chapter."

Lastly, we are told that "modern social philanthropy proceeds on the assumption that, in social reform, we are to begin with the lowest factor in man and work up to the higher. First, it says, deal with the body, then with the intellect, then with the ethical nature, and finally,

if there is time and force left, with the spiritual condition of things. Give good food, good clothing, good external conditions. Build not a church, but a Palace of Delight. Following after these, give education, give schools and languages; let the intellect be developed. Then organize societies for ethical culture. . . . As for God and immortality and Christ and theology, we will talk about that when we get to it."

The Christian method, Dr. Abbott insists, is altogether different. Instead of trying to amend the social organism, in the confidence that improved social organization will produce better men, it strives to amend individuals, believing that better men will produce improved social organization. "The Christian church is not, and does not undertake to be, a social-reform organization; nor is the Christian minister a social reformer. . . . We decline to turn aside from our work to debate the question whether the land tax or income tax, free trade or revenue reform, state socialism or *laissez-faire*, are right or wrong, beneficent or maleficent. Our business is different. Our business is to make men, and trust that out of right manhood will grow right systems."

Where the Christless socialist seeks to modify the environment, and so influence the characters of the men environed, Dr. Abbott would go to work the other way. He would modify the men.

It is not environment that makes men; men make environment. The same ocean washes Ireland and England, the same sun smiles on them both; the same beneficent fogs and rains fall on their greenwards; and the same kind of green grass springs up for them, making verdure in the one island as in the other. Why is Ireland Ireland and England England? Because one is inhabited by the Celt and the other by the Anglo-Saxon; and, I may add, because one lives under the stimulating power of a protestant faith, and the other under the dwarfing and deadening power of a Roman Catholic ritualism. It is not the business of ministers and churches to make clean streets or improved tenements. It is their business, if they speak to landlords, to speak such sentiments of justice and truth that no man that rents a house shall leave the miserable tenement without air, without water, without sunlight. It is their business, if they preach to the poor, to preach such a gospel of cleanliness and order and decency that no man in his poverty will consent to live without these three things—fresh air, fresh water, God's sunlight.

And so the Christian method is to care for man's spiritual nature first—to awaken his soul. "Christ assumed, Christianity assumes, that in every man, behind the shell, it may be, of rags and filthiness, behind the more impenetrable shell of luxurious and selfish wealth—in every man, somewhere, there is a sentiment of reverence, of love, of divine manhood; and it is the work of the Christian church and of the Christian ministry, as throughout all ages it is the work of God himself, to brood the soul until he has kindled into life this spiritual nature. When that spiritual nature has been kindled into life, it will develop an ethical life, it will demand an intellectual education, it will build up for itself the conditions of physical well being."

It is not difficult to find flaws in Dr. Abbott's argument. When he says that Ireland is Ireland because of the "dwarfing and deadening power of a Roman Catholic ritualism," he is in effect illustrating the truth that men are influenced by their environment. When he tells us that it is the business of ministers and churches to preach such sentiments of justice that no landlord will leave a tenement without air, water and sunlight, and such a gospel of cleanliness that no poor man will consent to live without those conveniences, he ignores the fact that such preaching has been going on for a very long time without producing any effect. When he speaks of "brooding the soul" until its spiritual nature be kindled into life, he forgets that many men have no souls, and that social conditions are destroying souls incomparably faster than the church can brood them into spiritual life. For the soul may die beyond redemption, while the body keeps on living. A man may utterly lose the capacity for being human—may become so dead to self-respect, to sympathy, to moral sense of every kind, that only a miracle more astounding than the resurrection of Lazarus could revivify his soul. There are plenty of such men, victims of social murder, slain while yet alive. They walk our highways as tramps, they fill our penitentiaries, they crowd our almshouses, they sit in the high places of the politicians, there are millionaires among them, as well as beggars. They are the victims of the environment.

Nevertheless, the method of reform that Dr. Abbott imagines to be distinctively the Christian method is the only true one. Society, as a whole, can never be better than the individuals who compose it. Bad men cannot legislate themselves into goodness; the moment such an idea is formulated into language its absurdity becomes apparent. What is needed is not more law, but more obedience. The Lawgiver of the universe has made ample provision for its government. All that is needed to insure man's happiness is that he should obey the divine law with faith, hope and love; seeking first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, in perfect faith that all things necessary will follow. This, if I understand him, is Dr. Abbott's idea. He thinks the Christian church and clergy should refuse to occupy themselves with patching and plastering the universe, with urging laws for sanitary reform, and laws for industrial reform—with laws to make men honest and laws to make men industrious. He thinks that the law of God is all sufficient. To declare that law and urge men to obey it is, he considers, the full sum and measure of the clergy's duty. And in this view, I, for one, am bound to say that I think him entirely and absolutely correct. No social reform is possible, until men shall learn to obey the law of God. And when men once shall have learned obedience to God, and faith in God, all temporizing schemes of social reform will fade away, and men will wonder how they could ever have been fools enough to consider them.

What is the law of God? Leaving theology on one side, and regarding only man's duty to his fellow men, there is little difficulty in stating it, in terms that will satisfy equally the most earnest believer and the most pronounced agnostic. "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Upon this golden rule the whole structure of our civilization rests. It includes liberty, equality and fraternity—the rights to life and the pursuit of happiness—honesty, sincerity, charity, brotherly love. If men can but be taught to obey it, no other law will be necessary. Until men learn to obey it, no genuine social reform is possible. It is the law of laws, transcending all others, including all others. It is the one law that needs no demonstration. Its binding force is certified by direct revelation in the heart of every man who hears it and has a living soul. And it is the law of Christ, which Dr. Abbott says, in the essay before us, it is the duty of the Christian clergy to declare.

What is it to declare a law? Simply to state it, over and over again, in varying words, perhaps, but always in general terms? If that be all that is necessary, then it must be admitted that the Christian clergy are doing the full measure of their duty—and it is also pretty evident that they might as well do nothing at all. For the most confirmed law breaker can listen with believing heart and spiritual edification to the mere verbal recital of the law, or to its application to other people than himself. Humanity is made that way. King David was prompt to condemn the supposititious criminal of whom Nathan told him, and never dreamed that he himself was the sinner to be punished, until the prophet smote his conscience with the awful accusation, Thou art the man. Then, and not till then, did he acknowledge, I have sinned against the Lord.

Nathan declared the law of God to David, and brought the royal sinner to repentance. The accusation that we, who are laboring for industrial emancipation, bring against the Christian clergy is that they refuse to do as Nathan did. They proclaim the law of God, indeed, but they don't declare it. They do not touch the sinner on the shoulder and say, Thou art the man. They pretend to do it, sometimes. But, with few rare exceptions, they never really do it.

Look at this swarming tenement, where humanity is penned in the ratio of 200,000 people and over to the square mile. See these children blighted with marasmus, these babies perishing for air, these joyless women, these men toiling day by day to support a life that would be martyrdom to Dr. Abbott or any other cultured man. What has brought this misery upon them? The will of God? To say so is to worship Satan. But if no act of God has done it, some act of man must have wrought the

mischief. What act? What man or men? If obedience to the divine law of the golden rule will surely bring happiness to men, as Dr. Abbott and the rest of us well know it will; and if these men are wretched, as they surely are; it follows, of necessity, that somebody, somewhere, sometime, must have defied the law of God, and failed to render that equal justice to his fellows that the golden rule demands. Let the church find him and repeat the words of Nathan to the king, and then indeed she may claim to have declared the law of God. But until that be done the mere repetition of the phrases of the law will be but useless breath.

Dr. Abbott may reply, and doubtless with perfect conscientiousness, that the church does seek out the one at fault, and proclaim, Thou art the man. She seeks the man who owns the tenement house and tells him that justice demands that he should provide air, and water, and sunlight for his tenants. She seeks the employer of the dweller in the tenement, and tells him that justice calls on him to pay better wages to the men who work for him. She goes to the tenement dweller himself, and preaches "a gospel of cleanliness and order and decency," urging him to insist on better conditions of life. And she holds up her head with a smile of satisfaction, as who should say, Have I not done my Master's work? And the world mocks at her.

The world mocks at her, because she deserves to be mocked at. She has not done her master's work. She has not declared the golden rule. She has not delivered Nathan's message. The power of that message lay in the fact that Nathan delivered it to the right person. When he said to David, Thou art the man, David knew that he *was* the man, and humbled himself accordingly. But when the church goes to the tenement owner, to the employer, to the tenement dweller; and says to each of them in succession, Thou art the man; they turn away in carelessness or mockery, because each knows perfectly well that he is *not* the man. The tenement owner compels nobody to live in his man-hives—he simply furnishes the accommodation paid for—if the tenants don't like it, why don't they move? The employer pays the wages of the market—he can't pay more, and continue in business. The tenement dweller would be glad enough to get fresh air, fresh water, and God's sunlight—only he can't afford to pay for them. The church might go on preaching to these three forever—might "brood their souls" till doomsday—and produce no result. Had Nathan delivered his message to Joab instead of David, he would have done just what Dr. Abbott claims the church is doing, and ought to do. And Joab would have treated the matter as carelessly as men to-day treat the church's admonitions, knowing perfectly well that the accusation was unjust.

Who, then, really is at fault, if not the men to whom the church addresses her remonstrances? Somebody has broken God's law, or the misery we see in the tenement house could not possibly exist. Who is it? Dr. Abbott can find out if he will. The whole Christian clergy can find out if they want to. It's a very simple matter. And if they want the world to stop mocking at them, they must find out. For the world respects sincerity, and never mocks very long at truth. But it laughs and jeers at false pretense and error, even while it pats them on the back and seeks to profit by them.

Why does the tenement dweller consent to remain in his wretched human hive, instead of insisting on a house of his own, in some pleasant street, with plenty of light and air around it? Because he can't help himself—his wages are too low to admit of his purchasing better accommodation.

Why does not the employer pay higher wages? Because he can't afford to. The market place is full of idle men, clamoring for employment, competing against one another for work. If the employer should pay more than the market rate, he would be driven out of business by the competition of other employers who, paying less, would undersell him. The competition of the unemployed is the secret of low wages.

Why are there any unemployed? How is it that men cannot go to work when they want to, without waiting for some man to give them leave and fix the wages of their industry. Our forefathers, when this country was a howling wilderness, didn't have to wait for other men to em-

ploy them. They simply went to work, built rude houses for themselves, planted corn and sowed flax, gathered in their grain and wove their cloth, and so fed and clothed themselves. How has it come to pass that, with man's mastery over nature immeasurably increased, we of to-day are worse off than our ancestors? The soil they delved is here to-day, as then; the quickening rain still falls; the earth sweeps round the sun, and harvest follows seed time now, as regularly as two hundred years ago. Why must we stand idle where our forefathers were free to work? Why do we crowd the labor market, and jam one another into tenement houses, instead of taking off our coats and going at it? For one all-sufficient reason. Our forefathers were free to apply their labor to the opportunities of nature, but we are not. The opportunities are fenced in. The land is gone from us. It is owned by other men, who shut us off from it. What can we do but crowd the market place and beg for work, when on this planet, to which God has sent us, we are denied all right of using nature's stores? The landowners' fences are the all-sufficient reason for the unemployed.

For whose use did God make the earth? If not for the equal use of all men, then the golden rule is a humbug. For it is impossible that one man should deny to another the equal right to use the earth, and yet obey the law that bids him do to others as he would others should do to him. That would be a direct and glaring contradiction.

We needn't go any farther. We have found our man. Now let the church step forward and deliver Nathan's message. Let her deliver it to the land owner, to the equally guilty non-land owner, whose acquiescence renders possible the gigantic denial of God's law. Let her stand before rich and poor alike, before the dweller in the tenement house, before the millionaire in his palace, before the bishop in his cathedral, and like Nathan before David, first tell the story of the sin, and then awaken conscience with the accusation, Thou art the man!

Ah! if she would but do it! If the church of God would but really declare the law of God, the sweet gospel of the golden rule, how wide might she fling the gates of heaven, ushering in the kingdom of God on earth! With what shouts of joy, with what tears of love and gratitude, would her teachings be received! How men would flock to her temples, pouring out their hearts in praise, and women lift their rescued little ones to bless the Father who had delivered them! How the prison walls would tumble, and the dens of vice be swept away, and the horrid tenement houses vanish out of sight! A dream? Yes, truly, it is a dream—a dream of what might soon be, if the ministers of God would only really do what Lyman Abbott says they want to do—preach the pure law of Christ, and seek to accomplish social reform, not by changes of the social organism, not by plastering and patching the universe with amendments to God's laws, but by persuading men to do to others as they would have others do to them, and so refuse to sanction any longer the infamous robbery that makes the golden rule an idle platitude.

T. L. MCCREADY.

Charity Organization as a Conspiracy.

NEW YORK.—The difference between organized charity and charity organization has been very well indicated by various writers in THE STANDARD, yet there is one phase of the subject that has not been dwelt upon. I refer to charity organization as a conspiracy. More than one advocate of the baneful system when engaged in controversy has undertaken to define the objects of the scheme, and yet the essential thing that needs statement has been missed. Indeed, it is only here and there that we find an advocate with sufficient hardihood to declare the ulterior aims of charity organization. No one advocate tells the whole story. The secretary of the principal society in the United States has recently said that, "What charity organization is trying to do is to get a full list of all people who have asked for aid in the past and put on record a full list of their cases." This is a part of the conspiracy, then, to hunt up every man, woman and child who has ever been so unfortunate as to ask for help and put them on record. But how many of the *nouveau riche* would have to go into the list with this understanding? Not so fast, it is the present poor we are after, says the tabulator of cases. Without doubt it is the poor whom this organization is trying to scoop up in its net, and have their record ready at any moment to turn against them to their confusion and shame. With this scheme well worked, up the poor would indeed be grasped in the tentacles of

the charity octopus. How thoroughly this work is to be done is indicated by a passage in the speech of Mr. James C. Carter, delivered on behalf of the New York society and published in its annual report. Viewing such work as is demanded in the interests of civilization he says:

I believe that the conflicting forces of civilization, as they are now developing themselves, are putting upon society a greater and a greater strain; and unless all parts of society are visited by the blessed and humanizing principles of charity, that our civilization itself will fall. I do believe that unless charity is organized, and organized on a far larger scale than you are organizing it now, unless the work, which you are but beginning, is taken up and prosecuted upon the most extensive and broadest scale, we shall eventually be compelled to surrender civilization itself.

This, then, is the real nature of the conspiracy. Civilization itself is to be prostituted to carry out the designs of capital, which, by the support of charity organization, asks to effect an insurance upon its high pressure political economy. Justice finds no place in this fell scheme. To the bounties of nature, the earth and its fullness, man has no inherent claim, and our orator quotes Malthus, who says:

A man who is born into a world already possessed, if he cannot get subsistence from his parents, on whom he has a just demand, and society does not want his labor, has no claim of right, to the smallest portion of food. In fact, he has no business to be where he is. At nature's mighty feast there is no vacant cover for him. She tells him to be gone, and will speedily proceed to execute her own order.

Thus he is to perish, as superfluous races of animals are said to have perished. Without charity organization, the poor man and civilization itself must die; therefore we are exhorted to organize, in accordance with University place, on a world wide plan, and treat the greater portion of the human race as paupers, to whom the small class of rich shall, if they see fit, dispense such things as they themselves do not want. "Charity organization" is indeed a conspiracy. B. F. DeCOSTA.

Keep the Slaves Quiet Till We Can Break Their Chains.

WEST NEW BRIGHTON, Staten Island.—Will the editor of THE STANDARD allow me space for a few words on the subject of "charity" and "charities" which, so far as I have observed, have not been said in his paper and which may point to a common ground of sympathy for those who agree wholly or in part with Mrs. Lowell and those who think as he does?

The discussion of these opposing views has been carried on in the columns of THE STANDARD by many hands and under different forms, and has been followed by me with deep interest.

The benefits of the charity organization, the charity wood yard, reformatories, industrial schools, manual training, public institutions, soup kitchens, coffee stands, free breakfasts, etc., etc., have been presented on one side and the all-sufficiency of the single tax on the other. I find myself agreeing with each and disagreeing with both.

Certainly the friends of the "charities" are wrong in believing these efforts are ends in themselves or even means by themselves to reform and progress. But they are as certainly right in believing these efforts necessary.

On the other hand, THE STANDARD is wrong in sneering at them as useless and even mischievous, and is right in saying that of themselves they will never permanently benefit the human race.

It seems to me that these activities play a very important part in the development of our civilization, but that both these advocates and opponents fail to see what it is. May we not liken them to rafts which will keep the heads of our shipwrecked brethren above water till the great tide of progress lands them on the shore, which is safe, because resting on the bed rock of justice?

And, to mix the metaphor, are not these shipwrecked fellow creatures the goths and vandals which Mr. George tells us will rush from the slums of our cities and overwhelm our civilization—unless justice is done? And is justice done so quickly in this lazy world that we can afford to dispense with any of the alleviations of their lot? Feed them, soup kitchens and coffee stands! Nurse their sick, O hospitals! Train their minds and hands, schools, prisons and reformatories! Gain time for us, all of ye! For well does the editor of THE STANDARD know that the enslaved never free themselves. Let him, then, do justice to those who are keeping the slaves quiet till we can break their chains. Let him, when he sees those whose surroundings and circumstances tempt them to lives of ease and self-indulgence, trying to help others to bear their too heavy burdens, let him at least credit them with good intentions. S. M. GAY.

"Phenix on That."

RAVENSWOOD, Ill.—Next door to where I live parties are building a new house. As usual in such cases, there is a good deal of waste lumber, bits of board, scantlings, etc., which can only be used for kindling. The owner very kindly permits the boys living in the neighborhood to come and carry off these pieces, and there has come to be considerable strife among the boys to see who will get the most of them. Some of the bigger boys have

devised a scheme which enables them to outwit the smaller, or weaker ones, and grab the largest part of the pieces. They have told the smaller boys that when they say "phenix on this," or "phenix on that," that it makes it theirs, and that no one else has a right to touch it. So they come in and shout, "phenix on this," and "phenix on that," and "phenix" on the other, and before the little fellows come to understand what is going on there's a phenix on everything. And when a boy has said "phenix" on a good lot of the kindling he is all right, provided he can make the others respect his phenixes. But the effect of it all is that the little fellows are left.

Now this is a good illustration of the origin of land titles, and of our stupidity in holding them in such profound respect. The Father has freely provided the means whereby his children can be clothed, and fed, and housed, and whereby they can enjoy all manner of good things, only requiring that they exert their labor upon the means he has provided, but some of the stronger and more greedy ones have said "phenix on this," and "phenix on that," and "phenix on the other" until everything is phenixed. It is even worse than this, for it is not the men who claim these things who said "phenix," but it was the grandfathers, the great grandfathers, and the great great grandfathers of these men, or others from whom they claim, who said phenix. But this is not all; some of them never said "phenix" at all. They only got some one else to say "phenix" for them. The king and queen of Spain sent over some fellows to say "phenix" for them. The king of France sent another lot of them to say "phenix" for him, and the king of England sent some one to say "phenix" until the whole continent was phenixed. And we have been respecting those phenixes all these years. We have done just what the small boys are doing, have let them keep what was intended for all of us, because some one had said "phenix." And whenever any question arises as to who is entitled to a piece of land, we call in the lawyers and judges, who solemnly determine which holds most directly from the fellow who said "phenix."

Some of these phenixes have become very valuable on account of the number of people who want them, and a large part of the business of the country has come to be, not in applying labor to these gifts of God and thereby fashioning them to satisfy human needs, but in trading in these phenixes, these opportunities to labor which ought to be open to all men. The effect is just what might be expected. The social wrong of respecting and protecting these phenixes produces social evils which are appalling, and which will continue to increase until we stop sustaining these phenixes. Single tax men think that the best way to get rid of them is to tax them out—to say to the holders of these phenixes, "You are welcome to keep your phenixes if you want to, and make the most of them, only we insist that if you do you shall pay to the balance of the people who have an equal right to them what those phenixes are worth."

W. H. VAN ORNUM.

SINGLE TAX MEN.

The following list contains the names and addresses of men active in the single tax cause in their respective localities, with whom those wishing to join in the movement may communicate:

Akron, O.—Jas R. Angier, 109 Allen street.
Albany, N. Y.—Robert Baker, 178 Madison avenue; J. C. Rosch, 22 Third avenue; or James J. Mahoney, secretary Single Tax Cleveland and Thurman clubs, 25 Myrtle avenue.
Alhambra, Mon Ter.—Mr. Josephine Spahr.
Altoona, Pa.—Joseph Sharp, Jr., secretary Single tax club, 411 Tenth street; Albert C. Koenig, 924 First avenue.
Amsterdam, N. Y.—Harvey Book.
Anacostia, D. C.—Carroll W. Smith, office Anacostia tea company, Harrison and Monroe streets.
Anahem, Cal.—James B. Hasset.
Anton Chico, N. M.—Lewis T. Granstam.
Ashtabula, Ohio.—A. D. Strong.
Atlanta, Ga.—John C. Reid, lawyer, 25 1-2 Marietta street.
Aulon, Mo.—H. G. Casey, secretary Single tax club.
Aurora, N. Y.—Daniel Peacock, president; H. W. Benedict, secretary Single tax club, College hall.
Augusta, Ga.—L. A. Schmidt, 521 Lincoln street.
Avon, N. Y.—Homer Sabra.
Ballston Spa, N. Y.—Richard Feeney, 63 Milton avenue.
Baltimore, Md.—John W. Jones, see Single tax league of Maryland, 125 N. Bond street; John Salmon, Pres. Henry club, 415 N. Eutaw street; Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1438 E. Baltimore street.
Bayside, Long Island, N. Y.—Antonio M. Molina.
Braceville, Ill.—William Matthews, secretary Tariff reform club.
Bradford, Pa.—J. C. De Forest, secretary Land and labor club, 26 Newell place.
Bristol, Dak.—W. F. Brokaw.
Bristolhampton, N. Y.—E. W. Dundon, 33 Malden lane.
Boston, Mass.—Edwin M. White, 26 Main street; Charles J. R. Roche, 29 Converse avenue, Malden; Hamilton Garland, chairman Single tax league, Jamaica Plain, Brooklyn, N. Y.—George E. West, M. D., 49 Clement avenue, president Single tax club.
Burlington, Iowa.—James Love, bookseller, or Richard Spruce.
Cambridgeport, Mass.—Wm. A. Ford, 106 Norfolk street, secretary Single tax organization.
Camsteo, N. Y.—H. W. Johnson, P. O. box 263.
Canon City, Col.—Frank P. Blake, M. D.
Canton, O.—S. J. Harcourt, M. D., president single tax club.
Cape May, City.—Wm. Porter, box 57.
Chamberlain, Dak.—James Brown.
Charles City, Iowa.—Irving W. Smith, M. D., office opposite Union house.
Chicago, Ill.—Frank Pearson, 45 La Salle street; T. W. Wither, secretary Single tax club, 126 Milwaukee avenue.
Cincinnati, O.—Dr. David De Beck, 139 West Ninth street; Jones's news and stationery store, 273 Vine street; headquarters Single tax club, 258 Vine street.
Clanton, Ala.—O. M. Martin or Alex. G. Dake.
Cleveland, O.—C. W. Whitmarsh, 4 Euclid avenue; Frank L. Carter, 132 Chestnut street.
Clinton, Ind.—L. O. Bishop, editor Argus.
Columbus, N. Y.—J. N. Gresham.
Columbus, Cal.—Charles F. Smith, proprietor Commercial Hotel.
Columbus, O.—Edward Hyemman, 348 1-2 South High street.
Cornwall, Cal.—Jeff A. Bailey.
Cramer Hill, Camden county, N. J.—Chas. P. Johnston.
Danbury, Conn.—Sam A. Mann, 31 Smith street.
Dayton, O.—W. W. Kile, 33 E. Fifth street; J. G. Galloway, 263 Samuel street.
Denver, Col.—F. H. Monroe.
Des Moines, Iowa.—L. J. Kane, president Single tax club; John W. King, secretary.
Detroit, Mich.—J. K. Fincham, 45 Waterloo street; J. F. Duncan, 777 Third street, secretary Tariff reform association; S. G. Howe, 644 16th av.
Diamond Springs, Eldorado county, Cal.—J. V. Lanston.
Dighton, Mass.—A. Cross.
Dunkirk, N. Y.—Francis Lake.
East Cambridge, Mass.—J. F. Harrington, St. John's Literary Institute.
East Northport, Long Island, N. Y.—J. K. Rydard.
East Rutherford, N. J.—Edward Jewett.
Elizabeth, N. J.—Benjamin Urner.
Elmhurst, N. Y.—William Bergman, 712 East Market street.
Englewood, Ill.—W. B. Steers.
Evansville, Ind.—Charles G. Bennett, 427 Upper Third street.
Fitchburg, Mass.—A. J. Terry.
Farmington, Iowa.—F. W. Beckwell.
Gardner, Ill.—T. S. Cumming.
Glen Cove, Long Island, N. Y.—Herbert Leromer.
Gloucester, Mass.—A. H. Sawyer.
Gloucester, N. Y.—John H. Gorman.
Gloucestershire, N. Y.—Wm. C. Wood, M. D.
Grand View-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.—Henry L. Hinton.
Harrison, Tex.—J. J. McCollum.
Hartington, Neb.—John H. Fisher.
Haverhill, Mass.—Arthur P. Brooks.
Helena, Mont.—Judge J. M. Clements, secretary Montana single tax association.
Horneville, N. Y.—George H. Van Winkle.
Hot Springs, Ark.—W. Albert Chapman.
Hosack Falls, N. Y.—F. S. Hammond.
Houston, Tex.—H. F. Hark, not a lawyer.
Hutchinson, Kas.—J. G. Malcolm, M. D.
Ilion, N. Y.—George Smith, P. O. box 502.
Indianapolis, Ind.—L. P. Custer, president Single tax league, W. U. Tel. Co.; Chas. H. Krause, bookkeeper, Von-nogues' hardware store, E. Washington street.
Ithaca, N. Y.—C. Platt, druggist, 75 East State street.
Janvier, N. J.—S. H. Walsh.
Jersey City, N. J.—Joseph Anna Miller, secretary Hudson county single tax league, 56 Ego avenue.
Kansas City, Mo.—Chas. E. Reid, 223 Woodland avenue.
Kearney, Neb.—H. M. McDonald.
Kingston, N. Y.—Theodore M. Rameyn.
Lansingburgh, N. Y.—James McManis, 21 Eighteenth st.
Lonsdale, Ill.—Dr. L. F. Garvin.
Lowiston, Me.—F. D. Lyford, 3 Cottage street.
Lexington, Ky.—James E. Wain.
London, England.—William Saunders, 177 Palace Chambers, Westminster.
Los Angeles, Cal.—W. H. Dodge, 31 North Alameda street; W. A. Cole, 149 South Hill; or A. Vincent, P. O. Station F.
Lowell, Mass.—Henry Robertson, 5 Metcalf block, Kittered street.
Lytle, Minn.—C. F. Wentham.
Lynchburg, Va.—Thos. Williamson, cor Fifth and Church streets.
Lynn, Mass.—Theodore P. Perkins, 14 South Common street.
Madison, Dak.—E. H. Evenson.
Mahoning City, Pa.—J. N. Becker, president Free trade club; Robert Richardson, secretary.
Manistee, Mich.—Albert Walley or W. R. Hall.
Mansfield, O.—W. J. Higgins, manager Western union telegraph office.
Marlboro, Mass.—Geo. A. Reynolds.
Marlborough, N. Y.—C. H. Baldwin.
Mart, Tex.—J. L. Caldwell, chairman Ninth congressional district organizer.
Marysville, Mont.—S. F. Halston, Sr., president Montana single tax association.
Massillon, O.—Victor Burnett, 78 East South street.
Mauritius, Indian Ocean.—Robert A. Rohan, 8 Pump street, Port Louis.
Memphis, Tenn.—R. G. Brown, secretary Tariff reform club, 59 Madison street.
Middleton, Conn.—John G. Hopkins, P. O. box 581.
Middletown, N. Y.—Chas. H. Fuller, P. O. box 115.
Milwaukee, Wis.—Peter McGill, 147 Fourth street.
Minneapolis, Minn.—C. J. Buell, president Single tax league, 402 W. Franklin avenue; E. L. Ryder, secretary.
Mobile, Ala.—E. Q. Norton, 23 South Royal street.
Mt. Pleasant, Iowa.—A. O. Pitcher, M. D.
Mt. Vernon, N. Y.—J. H. Lathrop.
Murrayville, Ill.—William Camm, president Democratic club.
Nashville, Tenn.—P. H. Carroll, 235 N. High street, secretary American land league.
Neponset, Mass.—O. A. Lathrop, member Henry George club, 43 Walnut street.
Newark, N. J.—Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost, 56 Oriental street.
New Brighton, Pa.—John Scott, 1 North Broadway.
Newbury, N. Y.—D. J. McKay, secretary Single tax club, 238 Broadway.
Newburyport, Mass.—Wm. R. Whitmore, secretary Merrimack assembly, Herald office.
New Haven, Conn.—Wallard D. Warren, room 11, 102 Canal street; Alfred Smith, 93 W. Valley avenue.
New Orleans, La.—John S. Walters, Maritime association.
Newport, Ky.—Joseph L. Schraer, secretary Single tax league, 247 Southgate street; Will C. James, 59 Taylor street.
New Westminster, Brit. Col.—Alex. Hamilton, member Tariff reform association.
Norfolk, Va.—Edward K. Robertson, secretary Alpha club, P. O. drawer 4.
North Adams, Mass.—Walter M. Browne, 13 Marshall street; H. S. Myers, P. O. box 557.
Northampton, Ill.—R. K. Alexander, 1226 North Broadway street.
Oberlin, O.—Edw. B. Hackett.
Olean, N. Y.—George Ball, pres. Single tax association.
Timothy Horn, sec. 55 Railroad street.
Olympia, Wash.—A. S. Alexander, Farquhar, Adam street.
Omaha, Neb.—John L. Embelen, 525 Virginia avenue.
Oradway, Dak.—R. H. Garland, member Tariff reform association.
Osceola, N. Y.—Alex. Station, 100 West First street.
Passaic, N. J.—J. J. Burnett, P. O. box 140.
Patterson, N. Y.—E. W. Nellis, chairman Passaic county Single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 89 North Main street.
Parkersburg, W. Va.—W. I. Boreman, member of Single tax league.
Pawtucket, R. I.—Edward Barker, 23 Gooding street.
Peoria, Ill.—J. W. Avery.
Philadelphia, Pa.—Wm. J. Atkinson, 926 Chestnut street; or A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut street, secretary Henry George club.
Piermont, N. Y.—Charles R. Hoel, P. O. box 13.
Pittsburg, Pa.—Wm. A. F. Roberts, 177 Curry alley.
Portland, Ore.—S. B. Rugen, 48 Stark street, R. H. Thompson.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—William C. Aldro.
Providence, R. I.—Robert Ormce, 32 Sutton street; Dr. Wm. Barker, pres. Rhode Island single tax association.
Pulaski, N. Y.—C. V. Harbottle.
Ravenswood, Ill.—W. H. Van Ornum.
Reading, Pa.—Chas. S. Frazier, 103 Penn street; Charles Corkhill, 251 Penn street.
Reynolds, N. Y.—John C. Jones, Currier, box 31.
Richmond, Ind.—D. Quigley, 105 South Third street.
Ridgeway, N. Y.—D. C. Sullivan.
River Falls, Wis.—George H. Bates.
Rochester, N. Y.—Charles A. Vail, 7 Morrill street.
Rochester, N. J.—Leah Gordon.
Rutland, Vt.—T. H. Brown, 11 Cherry street.
San Francisco, Cal.—Judge James G. Maguire, Superior court.
San Luis Obispo, Cal.—Mrs. Frances M. Mine.
Seattle, Wash. Ter.—F. P. Morrow.
Seneca Falls, N. Y.—Wm. H. Johnson, P. O. box 56.
Sharon, Conn.—A. D. Eastwick, librarian Single tax club.
Shenandoah, Pa.—Morris Marsh, president Single tax club; Thos. Potts, secretary.
Southboro, Mass.—S. H. Howes.
South Carolina.—Wm. L. M. Perkins.
Sparrow Branch, Orange county, N. Y.—C. L. Dedrick, president Progressive association; John Sheehan, secretary.
Spirit Lake, Iowa.—J. W. Schimpf, secretary Tariff reform club.
Springfield, Ill.—James H. McCrea, secretary Sangamon single tax club, 62 Black avenue.
Springfield, Mo.—H. A. W. Johnson, 665 Nichols street.
St. Louis, Mo.—Randall Russell, president Single tax league, 256 E. 10th street; Benj. E. Bloom, secretary, room 419 E. 10th street.
Stockton, Cal.—D. A. Leonard.
Stonham, Mass.—Dr. W. S. Huntington Brown.
Streator, Ill.—George G. Guntbert.
Syracuse, N. Y.—Charles S. Hopkins, 9 Seymour street; H. H. Perry, 149 South Clinton street; or F. A. Paul, 4 Walton street; or James E. McGuire, secretary Single tax club, 59 Green street.
Toledo, O.—Wm. Adelberger, secretary Single tax club, No. 1, 112 Summit street.
Tonawanda, Wash. Ter.—F. C. Clarke, 1208 K St.
Trenton, N. J.—H. R. Matthews, 2 Howell street.
Troy, N. Y.—B. B. Martin.
Tuckalee, N. Y.—Albert G. Young.
Unionville, Conn.—John McAdams.
Utica, N. Y.—Thos. Sweeney, 155 Elizabeth street, or James M. Buckley, grocer, southwest corner First and Catherine.
Victoria, B. C.—W. L. Stanton, L. and N. R. R. Co. Opera block.
Vincennes, Ind.—Hos. Samuel W. Williams, rooms 2 and 3.
Waco, Tex.—Frank Gray, lawyer, 161 south 4th street.
Wakarusa, I. T.—David H. Brown.
Washington, D. C.—Dr. Wm. Ham Geides, 1719 G street, N. W., secretary single tax league.
Weatherford, Tex.—William M. Paul.
West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.—A. B. Stoddard.
Westport, N. Y.—John L. Faxon, 255 1-2 1st street.
Whitestone, Long Island, N. Y.—George Harwell.
Whitman, Mass.—C. P. Robinson, cigar store; Thos. Douglas, president Single tax league.

THE WIND.

I.

HELPLESSNESS.

"How well sheltered our house is from the wind, father."

"And not by accident, my daughter."

"No? Well, one might believe that Uncle Edward's house was exposed to the wind by design. I rode one of the cow ponies over there this morning, and on the way I didn't notice that the wind was stronger than usual. But when I got up the hill at the front door, I was nearly blown from the saddle. The house stands exposed to the blasts, no matter from what quarter the wind is blowing."

"That is true. When I came to Montana last spring, and stayed at your Uncle Edward's while looking about for a ranch, I could not but observe that he had selected a breezy spot for his house, though it has, what he had in mind in building there, a fine view. The wind harasses that house like a living thing—an enemy. It breaks windows, tears off shutters and carries away tubs and barrels and sends them bounding and whirling out over the rolling plain. It penetrates every keyhole and crevice. Sometimes it comes in through the crack under the front door and lifts the carpet in the hallway in a series of little waves. During a wind storm a succession of blasts strikes the house as great waves buffet a ship at sea, and at night the bed one lies in trembles at each shock. At such times flying twigs and sand pelt the outside walls like rain. And what noises!"

"But, father, we have nothing like that here in our house. I heard so much about the horrid winds of this mountain and plains country on our way out, but mamma and I have been here three days, and there has been only a light breeze playing about the house."

"Yes; I have been successful in avoiding the full force of the wind. Let us stand by the window. You see, there is not a tree standing within a hundred feet of the house on this side. When clearing to build I had the trees cut down on about half an acre, and the house was put up at one end of the clearing. In the summer the cool breezes come from the southwest, and we shall then have the benefit of them, as our clearing opens that way. The wintry northwest storms, on the contrary, will pass over our heads, as the big pines and firs are close to the house on that side to shelter us. Now, you see off there to the southwest through the clear air, that precipitous mountain side—that curious gigantic wall of gray crags and upright cylindrical boulders? That is called the Honeycomb. It is four miles away. Well, the Honeycomb helps shield us from the wind in the warm rainy season. And Black mountain, on the west and northwest—ranging off from the Honeycomb—that is our Titan's buckler when the blizzards come."

"I never thought of such things, father."

"No, likely not. But in this region the wind and man's ingenuity are contending forces. In building on this spot I have managed to escape from the wind in its destructive moods and to take advantage of it in heat or cold. You have seen the street idlers back home get on the sunny side of a fence that shielded them from the wind? Big Honeycomb and great old Black mountain are our fence."

"It's a pity, father, that you cannot go on and use the wind as a mechanical force."

"I'm satisfied for the time being in escaping from the huge monster's strength."

"Father, I see a little cabin up on the side of Black mountain. How the wind must blow out on that bare place."

"Yes. Perry's widow lives there with her two children. I expect to see that cabin blow away some day, especially since the railroad tie cutters have stripped away the only windbreak that protected it—there where you see the fresh stumps further up the mountain side."

"Poor woman!"

"The destruction of the poor is their poverty. Perry, having nothing, squatted up there because that bleak spot was the only place he could pitch his cabin without price. By the way, the wind killed Perry, too."

"The wind, how?"

"Oh, he was cutting down a tree and it fell on him, driven by crosswinds in a direction he did not expect."

"Poor man!"

"And out there they live, the widow

and her children. The little ones, I suppose, think it natural that the wind should forever threaten their cabin and make their lives miserable. Imagine little Johnnie Perry staring incredulously were you to tell him the wind could be mastered. Theories of the effects of the wind on climate, or of forests on the wind, have no lodgment in Widow Perry's mind. I dare say, though, that her happiest moments are spent in the open air on the sunny, leeward side of her cabin. Yet she sees no principle in the fact that her cabin has a sunny, leeward side. She has no mind for ships, and sails, and winds; or strips of health resort beaches, sheltered by mountains from the wind; or commerce availing itself of the trade winds; or Sahara's scorching breath tempering the wind of the high Alps; or the tropical winds accompanying the Japanese current thousands of miles across the mighty expanse of the Pacific and eventually converted into the chill blast to which her little cabin lies exposed. Such things are not of her philosophy."

"No more, I suppose, than plans for gathering wealth."

"The poor like her can only toil and earn scant wages. She is groping through the world, praying for hard work as if it were a blessing from Providence. She has no thought that there are men whose sole scheme is to avoid work and profit by the work of others, as I have planned to master the wind."

"I suppose the well-to-do here are good to her?"

"Oh, yes. They give her some surplus crumbs in charity. But will that bring her out of her poverty? Will that shield her from the hurricane that is forever blowing up there where she lives, among the rocks?"

II.

HELPLESSNESS.

"Mother, how far is it home yet?"

"Two hours' walk, Johnnie."

"That's an hour and a half down the canyon, and half an hour up Black mountain, ain't it, mother?"

"Yes; about that."

"Let's rest here on the bridge a minute, won't you, mother?"

"Yes, children."

"Oh, mother! Look 'ee 'way down the canyon, high up like, an' out on the plains. You kin see that there new house o' them easterners. See its red roof and the second story, like a fancy pigeon coop?"

"Yes; they're rich."

"But you can't see down through the canyon along the creek. How many times does the road turn?"

"I don't know, Johnnie. As many times as the creek turns."

"Mother, hear the creek gurgle! Say, Kitty, how many mountains kin you see?"

"One, two, three, four, five on that side, and Black mountain on the right hand side."

"An' you can't see Honeycomb. That's round on the side o' Black mountain that faces them 'tenderfeet's house."

"No, Johnnie, we can't see it."

"Well, say, what shape is that one you counted one, Kitty?"

"That's a sugar loaf mountain. It's Whaley's mountain, and Mr. Whaley's ranch is at the foot of it."

"And I know the next one. That's Mount Tom. That's a peak-ed mountain."

"Yes; and the third—that's Snow mountain. That's dome shaped, they call it."

"An' the fourth's Man's Head mountain, Kitty, 'cause it looks like a great big man's head."

"An' the last on that side out next the plains they call Hogback, for it has bristles on the top like a hog."

"Oh, Kitty! Just look; Black mountain looks like a big elephant. See, back up the canyon, there's his big thighs, and here's his big fat body all along down the canyon, and there's his head 'way 'way up high, back over our cabin."

"Come, children; get your bundles and start. The wind's beginning to blow."

"Oh, I don't like the wind, mother."

"Hurry home, then, and get in the house."

Down the canyon road trudged the widow and her two little children. The wind gradually increased. A gentle sighing of the pines had announced its approach. Then a slight puff of dust here and there on the road showed a small whirl at work. A moment later the tree tops began to bend and sway, and at times their sighing became a moan that for a moment drowned the gurgle of Wolf creek. Up a little higher, where the

mountain side near by was bare, the short grass fluttered and the tall scattered weed stalks bent down to the earth and nimbly swung erect again.

The little party made haste. The children kept silent. The widow set the pace. Kitty, with a light bundle, was close behind her. Johnnie, with a heavier one, was in the rear.

Presently the tumult of a wind storm was upon them. At places where the road ran down near the creek, foam was carried up and dashed in their faces. Great trees along the road bent down over them and threatened to be broken and to crush them. The short grass on the bare hill now changed its shades of green as wind waves rushed over it and turned up the sides of the blades. Sand and small stones were dislodged from heights and danced down into the creek. A giant pine on the side of Snow mountain snapped off at the trunk with a cannon-like report. Dry leaves and sticks streaked the air as they blew wildly down the canyon, until, caught by counter currents, they circled aloft and lodged in the rocks. One poor bird was swept along in the air helplessly, its wings broken. It was the only live thing that the widow and her children saw in the storm, and its fate terrified them.

The noises of the storm seemed those of another world. Wolf creek canyon became a colossal trumpet blown by the wind god himself. Its notes were deep and hoarse, and of greater volume than the most sonorous peal of an organ. With the shifting of the wind the predominating noises changed, but one succeeded another every instant. Now it was a swishing and swirling in the high rocks and short grass. Now the forest trees were shrieking; now each ravine on the mountain sides took its turn in harshly roaring; now loud echoes boomed out and away along the precipices. Now the intermingled whistling, howling, bellowing, produced strange sounds for which words never yet were framed.

Little Johnnie's heart was fluttering as he panted along behind his mother and sister. He was afraid of being hurt by falling trees or rocks, but he was more afraid of terrible unseen things. His mother had told him about genii and the fabled men who threw mountains at one another, and, terrified as he was, he peopled the air with such unearthly folks and with devils and hobgoblins of his imagination. He half expected to see a giant's head appear above the crest of Black mountain, its one eye fixed upon him and in its mouth a whistle made a big tree trunk. A horrible fantastic bleating in the direction of Whaley's peak made him look back, for he thought it might be the calf the cowboys had told him about—the calf bigger than a mountain, whose hoofs had cut the ravines and whose horns had ripped up Wolf creek canyon. How his nerves quivered when a lone oak near him screeched suddenly at him in a human voice, and how his heart quaked when for a full minute a stentorian chorus sounded above every other noise. It came from the direction of the source of Wolf creek, which flowed out of the mountain side back at the top of the canyon, and perhaps giants were marching from up there and after him! He called to his mother and sister, but they did not hear him. They were bent only on reaching home. When they had looked back at him last he saw that they were both pale and that their lips were set.

At last the long walk down the canyon and the painful climb up to the cabin were finished. It had grown dark. The widow said she was afraid to light a fire, and she gave the children something cold to eat. They munched for awhile in silence. The mother lighted a lantern, put it on a table, and sat down in a big chair near the chimney. The children went to her, and one sat on each knee.

"God help the poor people who are out in the mountain this night!" she moaned.

"Who's out to-night, mother?" piped Johnny against the outer noise.

"I don't know, my boy, but only the poor, that certain."

"The cowboys," said Johnnie.

"But they're not in the mountains," cried Kitty.

"Mother, ain't we the poor?" asked Johnnie.

"Yes; the poorest of the poor."

"Ain't there no way not to be poor?"

"No way for us."

"And ain't there no way to kill the wind?"

"Kill the wind. No, Johnnie, God makes the wind."

"But we might 'a' been killed by the wind!"

"Heaven had mercy on us."

"Ain't it roarin' awful outside, mother?"

"Mother!" exclaimed Kitty. "I'm so afraid—everything is shaking so. Mother! Mother! the earth is shaking!"

"Mother!" screamed Johnnie. "Hear the awful crash!"

"Heaven have mercy on us, my children! Oh, heaven have mercy on us!"

Next morning early a knot of frontier people on horseback were gathered on the road at the foot of Black mountain. They gazed up at the steep side toward where the cabin of the Widow Perry had stood. What looked like an enormous gash began high up near the crest, and what looked like a prodigious mud dump reached from it down almost to the road. Where the gash began the wind had dislodged a boulder. It had rolled down, tearing up the earth with it. That had caused a landslide, and every trace of the cabin had been obliterated. HAGAN DWEN.

To Single Tax Men in North Dakota.

HATTON, Dak., April 2.—The constitutional convention for North Dakota meets in July, and we single tax men ought to be ready and prepared to bring our united influence to bear upon that body. The constitution already prepared for South Dakota provides for the equal taxation of real and personal property, and our duty is to vote against it. In North Dakota, on the other hand, our task is to keep this objectionable clause out of the constitution; but work must be done at once, before the convention or we can hardly hope to be successful. What is the best plan of campaign? While we are considering this I would suggest that single tax men in North Dakota correspond with each other and agree on what they can, under existing circumstances, demand at the hands of the convention. Most members of that convention will give us a respectful hearing if the case is properly presented; indeed, quite a number of delegates may perhaps be single tax men at heart. Now, if a number of single tax men in North Dakota could send a constant stream of encouraging letters to delegates it would have a very wholesome effect. A. TROSLIN.

We Suspect the Single Tax of Sesostris Was a Single Rack Rent.

St. Louis, Mo.—The "single tax" subject seems to be a very old one. It's a pity that other sovereigns did not imitate Sesostris, monarch of Egypt. According to "Herodotus," the ancient historian, this king divided off the land of Egypt into small squares, and allotted to every Egyptian one square for cultivation, for which the king received an annual "rent." No other taxes were imposed upon the people. If "bad seasons" made poor crops the king remitted a portion of the rent. Sesostris is said to have reigned over three thousand years before the Christian era.

DR. HENRY S. CHASE.

Where Shall They Go, and What Shall They Do?

Excerpts from Chicago Record.

Carpenters had better not be deluded into going to Seattle, Wash. Ter., as it is overdone.

Saw makers are warned to stay away from Middletown, Pa., as the men in the saw works at that place are in trouble.

The Riverside iron company of Newcastle, Del., has reduced the wages of its puddlers twenty-five cents per ton.

One hundred Paterson, N. J., silk weavers are on a strike against running two looms at reduced rates.

Painters are warned to stay away from Brooklyn, N. Y., as trade is dull and many of the craft are out of employment.

Laborers and mechanics are warned to stay away from Springfield, Ohio, as there are over 2,000 idle men at present in that city.

Miners are warned to stay away from Lehigh, Indian Territory, as the mines there are being run only two days in each week.

Laborers and mechanics are warned to stay away from Pittsburg, Kan., as there are hundreds of men in that city at present who are unable to obtain employment.

Workingmen are warned to stay away from Peoria, Ill., as there are hundreds of men in that city who are unable to obtain employment.

A Humorous Story in Which a Moral is Hid.

Santa Cruz, Cal., Surf.

When the jail was turned over to Sheriff Jennings day before yesterday there were nine persons, mostly tramps, in it. When the prisoners were fed yesterday morning there were ten. During the day there were nine, and later in the afternoon there were ten. Investigation was made. The tenth man was discovered to be a tramp, who climbed into the jail at meal times, and went out again after getting a full stomach. This, connected with the fact that a man incarcerated for being drunk broke his leg trying to get back into jail after having climbed out, will make our jail famous.

That is, Philadelphia Could Beat the World if it Had an Even Chance With It.

Philadelphia Record.

Philadelphia beats the world building war ships.

Too True.

Parkersburg, W. Va., Index.

Nobody can be a very good man and be very poor. It is an unnatural condition.

EVERETT GLACKIN'S PLAN.

Representative Men in the Printing Trade Approve of the Idea of Holding Meetings to Discuss the Single Tax.

The following letters explain themselves. They serve to indicate a feeling that is taking strong hold of many staunch trades unionists in this country, and their authors are evidently going to work seriously on behalf of a cause larger than that of the trades union. Mr. Hawkins is president of the New York pressmen's union and of the Adams and cylinder pressmen's association; Mr. Williams is secretary of the New York stereotypers and electrotypers' union; Mr. Hazzard is an ex-delegate to the International typographical union, and Mr. Costello is delegate-elect to the International typographical union, which meets in Denver in June.

NEW YORK.—I read Mr. Glackin's letter in a recent issue, and heartily concur in the suggestions made by him. It seems to me a series of lectures under the auspices of representative trades unionists would do much good in New York, as the lectures in Boston are undoubtedly doing. I am glad to see, and it is a hopeful sign, that in Boston the lectures are managed by a committee appointed by Boston typographical union, showing that the old idea of it not being in the province of a trades union to discuss anything that does not relate directly to the scale of prices is wearing out. I think it is the duty of trades unionists as individuals, and unions as a body, to trace to the root the causes of scarcity of work and low wages, and they will never understand them till they discuss the new political economy, which shows the cause, effect and cure, and which many of us do understand and are trying to force upon the attention of our fellow trades unionists.

No one who knows me will accuse me of not being a consistent trades unionist, by precept and example, yet I know that under proper conditions the unions would have to go. And I hope to see the day when the necessity for a trades union will have passed, and every one is getting his own without having to combine with some to coerce others.

The best way to accomplish our own destruction, that is, to do away with the necessity of trade unions (and here is a pointer to those persons who see nothing but bad in us, and are wondering how to "wipe us out") is to discuss the law of wages, the law of rent, the law of interest, etc., and when we understand them to insist that everything that stands in the way of natural conditions must be removed, and not to forget that unions are one of the things.

J. M. HAZZARD.

NEW YORK, April 3.—In THE STANDARD of March 23 there was printed an article from the pen of Everett Glackin, secretary of Typographical Union No. 6, advocating the formation, on trade lines, of single tax clubs, with the object of presenting to the members of the various trades, through men of whom they have intimate knowledge, the truths of the single tax teachings. Mr. Glackin, being a printer, naturally addresses himself in the first instance to his co-workers in that craft, and, I will dare to hope, with such prospects of a successful outcome as will encourage other trades to go and do likewise.

As an ardent advocate of the adoption of the single tax on natural opportunities, and the consequent freeing of labor from the burdens now laid upon it, I cannot but recognize the great good which must follow from the carrying out of Mr. Glackin's suggestion. For while in the printing trades we undoubtedly have a considerable number who have seen the cat, and who, consequently, have a more or less clear knowledge of what are human rights, it is none the less true that they are, as yet, a minority of the whole. But as "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump," I doubt not that the chosen few will soon be able to convert the rest to see, as we see, that restriction is wrong and that liberty is right. To this end I purpose to give every effort I am capable of and hope that the movement in our trade will result in a vast increase in the number of the disciples of Henry George.

T. J. HAWKINS.

NEW YORK, April 8.—I wish to express my sentiments in regard to the proposition of Mr. Glackin to call together the members of the printing trades in favor of the "single land value tax," which I think is very commendable, and I feel that it would meet with great success if acted upon.

While I am a firm believer in the single tax, yet I feel that there are a great many men among the stereotypers, as well as in the other branches of the trade, who have not had the opportunity of hearing it discussed, and who would, if brought together, see the advantages to be derived from it.

And while I also know that it is almost impossible to get men who have to work all day to attend meetings of this sort, yet I think that the benefits gained from such meetings would more than recompense them for the time spent.

JAMES J. WILLIAMS.

NEW YORK, April 6.—I desire to express my approval of the plan outlined by Everett Glackin in a late number of THE STANDARD, in which he suggests that members of the various branches of the printing trade unite in endeavoring to promote discussion of the doctrine of the land value tax. If the printers of New York take up the agitation

of the land question, they will no doubt influence their fellow craftsmen in other cities of the Union to do the same. Single tax men in other trades may then see the benefit of systematic work with their brother workmen, and so the truths of the single tax may be spread. Work of this character, it seems to me, will be as fruitful in making converts as any that has been tried. In my opinion the disinherited classes must, in a large measure, fight their own battles. ROBERT COSTELLO.

Hints for a Spring and Summer Campaign in Massachusetts.

BOSTON, Mass.—Spring is opening and in the general awakening the single tax men of Massachusetts ought to take part. The coming of warm weather removes several of the chief hindrances to the propagation of our doctrine. We may now hold open air meetings, which not only cost little or nothing but which enable us to reach people who would never come to our halls.

Let us make this summer campaign more vigorous and determined than any hitherto. Let it be a general and well organized effort and to that end I ask the secretaries of all leagues in Massachusetts (or any prominent propagandists in town, without a league) to send in names and number of known single tax believers. Address your letters to Edwin M. White, 27 Pemberton square, Boston, Mass. This will enable us to co-operate with you.

We have a number of speakers who will gladly go out of town to help on the cause, asking only the payment of their expenses. L. H. Turner, Geo. N. Smith, W. A. Ford, and others are good outdoor speakers and did good service in and about Boston last summer.

I would suggest the following plan of operations: Secure early the privilege of speaking in the park or square of your town. Make it known through the papers that you intend to hold a series of single tax meetings during the summer. Try to secure a cornetist or a quartette of male voices—something to attract attention. Have plenty of telling tracts on hand and a supply of Mr. George's books. Our friends here on Sunday adopted the plan of presenting every person who joined the league and paid the initiation fee of twenty-five cents a copy of "Progress and Poverty." This secures the names of those who are interested and avoids the appearance of selling the books. On some accounts Sunday afternoon meetings are best, but in most towns a crowd can be obtained on any pleasant evening. A campaign of this kind during the coming summer will prepare the way for a winter campaign indoors. I close by asking again that the names of officers in Massachusetts leagues be sent in to our secretary. Yours, fraternally,

HAMLIN GARLAND,
President Boston Single Tax League.

Texas Tax Reform Association.

Report No. 5 of the Texas tax reform association, just issued, tells of good work that is being accomplished in the Lone Star state. Here is a description of what their single tax missionary, Rev. S. G. Mullins, is doing:

He sends out his appointments for lectures a few weeks in advance, usually getting the local papers to publish them. He lectures in schools and churches, in country settlements especially, and never fails to bring out fair audiences. While the single tax is entirely new to most of his hearers, still he reports that it takes with them wonderfully well. His audiences always express a desire to hear more upon the subject, and he is usually pressing urged to return and lecture to them again. When possible to do so, he also organizes single tax clubs, and in this he has met with a good deal of success. He is working among the very class of people whom we must reach here in Texas—the small farmers—and they are readily susceptible to the truth which we are endeavoring to spread. They read a great deal and have less to distract their minds from the study of economic questions than artisans of the cities, and they easily realize how it is that the speculator holding adjoining lands in idleness is enriched by the improvements which they place upon their own farms by the sweat of their brows. When Mr. Mullins is at home with his family he will put in his time corresponding with the secretaries of Farmers' sub alliances all over the state, and also with those in the neighborhoods which he proposes soon to visit. He writes personal letters to them, inclosing tracts and documents, and urging them to bring the subject up at alliance meetings. In this way the seed is sown in advance of his personal work. Again most favorable opportunities for making thorough converts to the cause are afforded him while spending the nights on his trips through the country, by the firesides of the hospitable farmers who are usually glad to entertain him.

We may reasonably expect from the clubs which Mr. Mullins will organize that the funds of our association will be increased, and that after awhile we will for this reason be able to put other missionaries at work in the field. With the start which we have with our one missionary, we trust and believe that the work of this character will go steadily on in ever enlarging circles. To insure this it is simply necessary that every man who believes in the cause should contribute something to be used in pressing it forward.

The total expenditures of this association since its formation have amounted to \$915.

True.

Birmingham, Ala., Sentinel.

The land question is the one great problem for the masses to solve, yet it receives less attention from the trades unions than little side issues.

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

Electric Launches.

Messrs. Immisch & Co. of London have recently had built for them an electric launch known as the "Viscountess Bury." The boat measures 65 feet in length by 10 feet beam, with a mean draught of 22 inches. It is intended to carry eighty passengers and is propelled by twin screws driven by two 7½ h. p. Immisch motors, each of which is supplied with current from 200 accumulators. The "Viscountess Bury" is one of a small fleet of electric launches which Messrs. Immisch & Co. will have on the Thames next summer, the recharging being effected from any one of a chain of charging stations, which are now in course of construction all along the river.

Paper from Sugar.

The Revue Scientifique states that it has long been known that the stalk of the sugar cane might be used in the production of a paper of the best quality. It is, therefore, surprising that, with the constant decline in the value of sugar owing to over production, and the steadily increasing use of paper, it has never occurred to sugar planters to embark in the manufacture of paper as a supplement to sugar producing. The fibres of the cane give an excellent paper, and the necessary mechanical and chemical processes are easily carried out. A correspondent of the French national acclimatization society reports that Mr. Walter Forbes of New Orleans has lately exhibited there a dozen samples of white paper made from the sugar cane, which were pronounced very good. The first quality costs about two cents a pound per one hundred kilogrammes. The Revue Scientifique concludes by recommending the planters in the French sugar producing colonies to introduce paper making.

Iron Cross Ties.

The Pennsylvania Railroad company have given up the experiment of substituting iron railway cross-ties for the wooden ties now in use. The iron ones in use on the middle division and in the Philadelphia yards will be taken up, and will probably be sent back to England, whence they came. The iron ties have been in use almost a year, but owing to their not having the elasticity necessary for the "giving" of the rails, they have not proven a success. Another reason to prevent their general use is the cost. As long as wooden ties can be purchased at about one-third the cost of iron ties the former will continue to be used. An iron tie cannot be made to weigh much less than the present wooden tie, or about 250 pounds.

Making Twine From Thistles.

A firm in St. Paul, Minn., have patented an ingenious method of making twine from the fibre of the commonest weeds. The machinery will be put in place soon, and the product is expected to be turned out in large quantities. At the recent meeting of the Farmers' alliance of Ohio, the agent for the new twine took orders for 500,000 pounds at 12 cents a pound, the usual price of manila twine being 18 to 24 cents. Such a factory will be an important factor in breaking down high prices of binding twine, for it can make the best of twine from so coarse and implacable an enemy to the farmer as the Canada thistle.

Peanut Flour.

Over 300,000 bags of peanuts are annually consumed in this country. A few product is being put upon the market called peanut flour, which in Georgia and some sections of the south is becoming very popular. It is much used by the negroes in making a kind of porridge, of which they are very fond.

A Handy Lubricant.

Persons who are annoyed by a creaking door do not always have oil at hand, or do not care to use it, for fear of soiling the hands and the woodwork. But nearly everybody carries a lead pencil. If the hinges are rubbed with the point of a pencil the creaking will cease, graphite or plumbago being one of the best known lubricants.—[Iron.

Cotton Imitation of Chamois.

A cotton fabric which has been patented in England is described by the Canadian Journal of Fabrics. It has the appearance and soft feel of chamois leather, and it is guaranteed will not lose its special qualities when

washed. It is applicable for either wet or dry cleaning purposes and also as a polishing cloth, and especially suitable for underclothing and for linings of the same, and for general use as a substitute for the chamois leather now used for these and for analogous purposes. Being, moreover, of a woven texture and absorbent, it is more healthy for use in garments than chamois leather, and does not require to be perforated. Unlike leather also, which gets stiff after washing, this improved material so produced is capable of being repeatedly washed without stiffening, and is found to retain its softness perpetually.

The Farmer Preferred the Protective Hen, and Now He is Afraid of One of Its Chicks.

Chicago Farmer's Voice.

An agent of the Dakota Farmers' Alliance recently went east to buy twine direct from the factories, and he found twine that could be bought last year for 9 cents a pound, had been put up to 25 cents by the trust. Thus, on the 100,000,000 pounds of twine used annually by the farmers, the trust this year proposed to make a square steal of \$17,000,000 over and above a fair profit.

A Conundrum and the Answer.

Parkersburg, W. Va., Index.

Why do people live in house boats and in old rattle traps of houses? Because work is so scarce and wages so low they cannot afford anything better.

Consumption Cured.

An old physician, retired from practice, having had placed in his hands by an East India missionary the formula of a simple vegetable remedy for the speedy and permanent cure of Consumption, Bronchitis, Catarrh, Asthma and all throat and lung affections, also a positive and radical cure for Nervous Debility and all Nervous Complaints, after having tested its wonderful curative powers in thousands of cases, has felt it his duty to make it known to his suffering fellow-men. Actuated by this motive and a desire to relieve human suffering, I will send free of charge, to all who desire it, this recipe, in German, French, or English, with full directions for preparing and using. Sent by mail by addressing with stamp, naming this paper, W. A. Noyes, 149 Power's block, Rochester, N. Y.

MISCELLANEOUS.

WHAT

SCOTT'S EMULSION CURES

CONSUMPTION SCROFULA BRONCHITIS COUGHS COLDS

Wasting Diseases

Wonderful Flesh Producer.

Many have gained one pound per day by its use. Scott's Emulsion is not a secret remedy. It contains the stimulating properties of the Hypophosphites and pure Norwegian Cod Liver Oil, the potency of both being largely increased. It is used by Physicians all over the world.

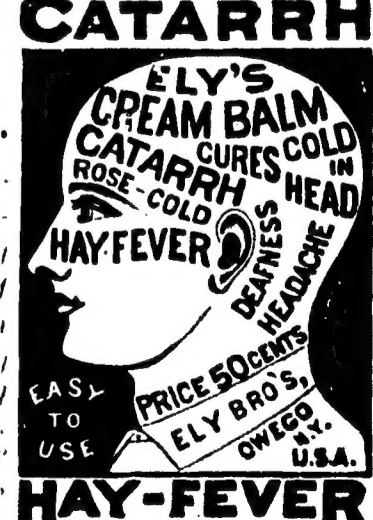
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Sold by all Druggists. SCOTT & BOWNE, Chemists, N. Y.

ELY'S CREAM BALM.

It cures so much trouble with catarrh it seriously affected my voice. One bottle of Ely's Cream Balm did the work. My voice is fully restored.—R. E. Liepman, A. M., Pastor of the Olivet Baptist Church, Philadelphia.

CATARRH



HAY-FEVER

A particle is applied into each nostril and is agreeable. Price 50 cents at druggists; by mail, registered, 60 cents. ELY BROTHERS, 54 Warren St., New York.

PAINLESS EFFECTUAL

BEECHAM'S

THE GREAT ENGLISH MEDICINE PILLS

WORTH A GUINEA A BOX

For Bilious and Nervous Disorders, such as Wind and Pain in the Stomach, Sick Headache, Giddiness, Fullness, and Swelling after Meals, Dizziness and Depression, Cold Chills, Flushing of the Face, Loss of Appetite, Shortness of Breath, Constipation, Itching of the Skin, Disordered Sleep, Frightful Dreams, and all Nervous and Trembling Sensations, &c. **THE FIRST DOSE WILL GIVE RELIEF IN TWENTY MINUTES.** This is a fiction. Every sufferer is earnestly invited to try one box of these Pills, and they will be acknowledged to be a **WONDERFUL MEDICINE.**—"Worth a Guinea a Box."

BECHAM'S PILLS, taken as directed, will quickly restore females to complete health. For a **WEAK STOMACH; IMPAIRED DIGESTION; DISORDERED LIVER:**

they **ACT LIKE MAGIC**—a few doses will work wonders upon the Vital Organs; Strengthening the muscular system; restoring lost Complexion; bringing back the keen edge of appetite, and arousing with the **ROSEBUD OF HEALTH** the whole physical energy of the human frame. These are "Facts" admitted by thousands in all cases of society and one of the best guarantees to the Nervous and Debilitated is that **BECHAM'S PILLS** HAVE THE LARGEST SALE OF ANY PATENT MEDICINE IN THE WORLD. Full directions with each box.

Prepared only by **THOS. BECHAM**, St. Helens, Lancashire, England.

Sold by Druggists generally. **R. F. ALLEN & CO.**, 363 and 367 Canal St., New York, Sole Agents for the United States, who, if your druggist does not keep them,

WILL MAIL BEECHAM'S PILLS ON RECEIPT OF PRICE, 25 CENTS A BOX.

But inquire first of your druggist. In ordering mention **THE STANDARD.**

SOME FOREIGN ITEMS.

A correspondent of Deutsch Land asks Mr. Flurscheim, the editor of that journal and the leading land reformer of continental Europe, why he did not make his great iron works a "model factory" on some co-operative system, such as Owen advocated, instead of forming a stock company, when he recently made up his mind to give up business and devote himself to the land nationalization movement. Flurscheim answers this somewhat impertinent question by saying that he had the wishes of a partner to consult in the first place; second, the Owen experiments have never accomplished anything in the way of real social reform; third, since he wanted to devote all his time and strength to the one great cause, he needed to be possessed of independent means, and hence took the only course open to him.

A correspondent of the Sydney, Australia, Herald sums up the results of the recent parliamentary election in New South Wales as follows: "In round numbers the votes recorded for the protectionist section of the house are 70,000, whilst those for the free trade section are 146,000, leaving a majority for free trade of 76,000 votes. The total number of votes which are represented by the present house amounts to in round numbers 216,000, of this number the free traders have a majority of two-thirds, with 6,000 to spare. Protection may be coming, and a majority of the advocates of tyranny and monopoly may even be "sneaked into" the house by some political chicanery such as we have witnessed in the recent campaign; but so far the voice of the people has emphatically declared that the evil day of its arrival shall be postponed for an indefinite period."

Lord Compton said recently in a letter to the Pall Mall Gazette that the county council in trying to decrease the tax on houses and getting rid of the coal dues and other taxes was getting itself into a bad financial difficulty, for the question would soon be, how are the necessary revenues to be raised? He called for opinions from those "best qualified" to give opinions. Maltus Questell Holyoke, is the name of one of those who gave an opinion. It was, that "in event of a revenue from ground values not being immediately available, that in the taxation of public amusements might be found a solution of the difficulty." He proposes the exemption of the cheaper seats so as to relieve the poorer theater goers and a tax of eight and one-third per cent on tickets; thus the two shilling seat would pay two pence tax, the five shilling seat would pay five pence, etc.

The cab drivers of London who rent their vehicles from the earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot have gone on strike because his lordship demanded \$3.75 a day for each horse and cab. The men have been paying \$3.50.

The Russian government has prohibited the use of the Polish language in Russian territory, the aim being to extinguish everything that tends to keep alive the patriotism of that down trodden people. Not only shopkeepers, but people of all classes there are forbidden, under penalties, to speak Polish. Servants, coachmen and artisans are invited by the Russian officials to watch for and report cases in which their employers speak Polish, and when any such report has been made, the commissioner of police at once rewards the informer and levies a fine on the offender. An old woman was arrested for praying in Polish in front of a chapel in Vilna. A boy was expelled for writing his name in Polish in a school book.

Invitations to the Peace congress at Paris, which has been organized by the advocates of universal arbitration, have now been sent to English members of parliament and to the French deputies. The congress is to assemble in Paris on June 29 and 30. The members of the French committee include M. Jules Simon, senator, and M. Yves-Guyot, minister of public works.

It is proposed in England to form a "Spencer society," composed of those who believe in the teachings of Herbert Spencer and wish to spread his ideas on general and scientific education and philosophy. The proposition originated with the Pall Mall Gazette.

Good News for Those Who Buy by the Bag or Bucket.

New York News.

The representatives of the anthracite coal companies held a meeting yesterday afternoon, at which it was voted to reduce prices to the basis of last spring's schedule, an average of about 10 cents a ton under recently prevailing prices.

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That all men should be free;
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To life and liberty.

But, brothers, can all men be free,
Can all men equal stand,
While some men hold exclusive right
To use the fruitful land?

For on the land all men must live;
All men must stand or fall.
If we must buy a chance to live
'Tis not a right at all.

But here's a plan by which all men
May ever equal stand;
Let each man pay the people rent
For living on the land.

Let all men pay the people rent
Who hold the people's land.
Let landlords pay the single tax;
Then all will equal stand.

San Francisco, March 22. W. G. S.

Protection Encroaching on Free Trade Between the States.

Eagle Pass, Texas, Guide.

The teachings of the protectionist are already springing up on the plentiful soil of ignorance, stupid, and narrowly selfish voters in a rank crop of interstate trade throttling laws. To these teachings are due the prohibition of Texas cattle and the inspection on the hoof laws which are now staining the statute books of many states. If the tendency to pass such laws is not soon checked, the country will soon lose the immense benefits which accrue from that broad and generous provision of the fathers of the republic which ordained that absolute free trade should be at least co-extensive with the national flag.

What are They Going to do About It?

Pittsburg Chronicle Telegraph.

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